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Message

Entire Himalayan region has a rich cultural heritage without, perhaps, any parallels elsewhere; this is when vast archaeological heritage remains to be explored. On one side we have monuments, temples and several other antiquities on the other hand we have deep rooted cultural traditions that have continued for thousands of years. The mosaic of both tangible and intangible heritage in the Himalayan region simply breathtaking, add to this the splendour of natural beauty and we have sheer magic!

Manimahesh, the quarterly journal being published by the HP Society for State Museums is an attempt to document this rich heritage and culture and to invite people to share their views.

Himachal State Museum was set up in September, 1974. It has a rich collection of antiquities and art treasure for students, historians, research scholars and general public. I am pleased that the State Museum is going to publish the first issue of its journal Manimahesh. This issue has articles on Buddhist culture, Numismatics, tribal architecture of the Himalayas etc. written by eminent scholars in their respective fields. I hope that this journal would throw extensive light on the history, art and culture of Himachal Pradesh and entire Himalayan region.

I wish all the success for the journal and compliment to Rakesh Kanwar, Director, Department of Language and Culture, Mahender Singh Negi, Curator Himachal State Museum Shimla and Hari Chauhan, Registering Officer Department of Language and Culture.

Manisha Nanda,
Principal Secretary
Language, Art and Culture
Government of Himachal Pradesh

प्राक्कथन

"मणीमहेश" का पहला अंक मणीमहेश को ही समर्पित । आप पूछ सकते हैं इस त्रैमासिक पत्रिका का नाम मणीमहेश क्यों ? हिमालय के अधिकाश क्षेत्र में शिव आराध्य देव हैं। और शैव परम्परा अत्यंत प्राचीन हैं और सदियों के बाद यह परम्परा लोक संस्कृति में इतनी रच बस गई है कि शिव कहीं किसी मंदिर में स्थापित मूर्ति के रुप में नहीं बल्कि लोक -परम्परा में, लोक संस्कृति में जीवित हैं। पहाड़ में शिव मंदिरों में नहीं रहते-लोक जीवन में लोगों के साथ रहते हैं- उठते बैठते हैं, सोचते हैं, गाते-बजाते हैं। हिमाचल में कितने ही कैलाश हैं और कितने ही महादेव। चम्बा से किन्नौर तक शिव आराध्य हैं। चम्बा में ही शिव का स्थान है मणीमहेश। भरमौर की लोक कथा है कि एक गद्दी चरवाहा शिव के पीछे चलता मणीमहेश झील तक गया और उसने देखा कि शिव झील में समा गये। चरवाहा भी उनके पीछे झील में उतर गया। उसने देखा कि वहां शिव का संसार है। उसने शिव से अनुरोध किया कि उसे वहीं रहने दे। शिव मान गये और उसे कपड़े सिलने का काम दे दिया कुछ दिन बाद जब गद्दी चरवाहे को घर की याद आयी तो उसने शिव से अनुमति मांगी कि वह एक बार घर जाना चाहता है। शिव ने मना किया पर चरवाहा माना नहीं। शिव ने अनुमति दे दी पर कहा कि वह वापिस नहीं आ सकता। चरवाहा झील से बाहर आया और चला घर की ओर। गॉव पहुंच कर वह हक्का-बक्का रह गया। अपनी समझ से तो शिव की नगरी में उसने कुछ ही दिन बिताये थे परन्तु यहां सदियां बीत गई थी। सब बदल गया था। इस गद्दी चरवाहे का नाम था त्रिलोचन और यह बाद में त्रिलोचन महादेव के नाम से प्रसिद्धहुआ। कहानी बड़ी पुरानी है और कई रुपों में कही जाती है। लोक कथायें ऐसी भी होती हैं। पहाड़ों में कहावत भी है -जितने कंकड़ उतने शंकर ।

चम्बा में शिव को धूड़ कहते हैं- राख और धूल से सना शिव जो लोगों के साथ नाचता-गाता है और उन की भाषा बोलता है, उन्ही की तरह चोला पहनता है और वही सब खाता है। आज भी लोग गाते हैं -धूड़ नच्चया, जटा बो खलारी हो..... उनके साथ खुद धूड़ भी नाचता है और गाता है। यही लोक संस्कृति की पहचान है। इसी लोक संस्कृति की जीवंत चिरंतन आस्था को समर्पित है - यह पत्रिका। इसी लिये नाम रखा है - मणीमहेश। यह नाम संस्कृति की मूर्त और अमूर्त दोनों धाराओं को साकार करता है और फिर शिव ही एक मात्र पूर्ण अस्तित्व हैं- प्रकृति और पुरुष का उपयुक्त संगम अर्धनारीश्वर ।

हमारा विश्वास है कि हम "मणीमहेश" के माध्यम से हिमालय क्षेत्र और विषेशकर हिमाचल की सांस्कृतिक विरासत के वैभव से साक्षात्कार कर पायेंगे। मैं विशेष रुप से श्री एम. एस. नेगी, संग्रहालयाध्यक्ष राज्य संग्रहालय शिमला तथा डॉ० हरी चौहान, पंजीकरण अधिकारी राज्य संग्रहालय शिमला को बधाई देता हूँ। यह पत्रिका उन्ही के प्रयासो का फल है। उनके सतत प्रयास से यह नई परम्परा प्रांरभ हुई है यह रहेगी ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है।

राकेश कंवर
निदेशक, भाषा एंव संस्कृति विभाग
हिमाचल प्रदेश,शिमला

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Editorial Note

Himalaya has a vast cultural heritage. Many scholars have been working since long time on the varied fields of cultural heritage in different parts of Himalayan region, but their research and experience are not shared by the wide range of intellectual society interested in this field. It was the need of hour to bring such discoveries and researches under a single publication, Himachal State Museum Shimla took this initiative to bring out a quarterly journal covering all aspects including history, art, archaeology, culture, anthropology and environmental ecology. The enthusiasm and cooperation shown by scholars particularly the young one are indeed overwhelming.

The present volume contains invaluable contribution by senior and young scholars, all experts in their own field i.e. history, art, architecture, archaeology and numismatic. In the present volume two articles pertain to Buddhist studies and the rest five deal with the history, art, architecture and Numismatic.

The editing of the paper on a variety of subjects was indeed a stupendous task but it was made easier by the kind cooperation and valuable suggestion of the learned friends and members of the museum. Contributors of articles for this journal may find some changes, made in their papers without hampering the contents. We extend our heartfelt thanks to all scholars for contributing their research papers and cooperating with us in various ways.

We express our sincerest gratitude and respect to the Principal Secretary (LAC) to the Government Himachal Pradesh and Director, Department of Language and Culture, Himachal Pradesh without whose constant support and guidance it would not have been possible for us to publish the Journal.

We are happy to place 1st volume of the Journal into the hands of researchers, connoisseurs and art critics with the sincere hope that it would be welcomed by scholars and students alike.

M. S. Negi **Dr. Hari Chauhan**

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Special feature: Articles on history, art, archaeology, culture, sociology, anthropology and environment ecology are the some of the special features of this journal

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Contribution of Nepalese Buddhist Scholars in The Development of Scholastic Buddhism in Tibet

Dr. Shanker Thapa*

Context of Nepalese Buddhist Scholarship

History of Buddhism and Buddhist scholastic activities in Nepal was well developed during the medieval times. The foundation of Nepalese Buddhist scholarship was laid upon during the ancient times. Nepal has produced a large number of prominent scholars from among the Buddhist Newars.[1] They mastered mainly on different branches of Buddhist Tantra, Sutra, logic, doctrines secret precepts and so on. Many Nepalese Buddhist scholars developed their expertise to the extent that they were famous far and wide. They developed the tradition of scholarship in Nepal. This is the reason that Nepal became a popular place for Tibetan Buddhists to learn Buddhism. Scholars such as Buddhabhadra, Advyavajra, Vagisvarakirti, Mahakaruna, Ravindradeva, Bharo - the maimed hand, and others were renowned Buddhist scholars at that time. Most of the Nepalese scholars were very famous among the Tibetans. Many learned Tibetan scholars were trained under the Nepalese Pandits. Great Tibetan scholars Marpa Dopa, Rwa lotsaba, (Vajrakirti), Chag lotsaba, Khon-phu-ba, Klog lotsaba, Byun gnas-rgyal mtshan, Gos lotsaba, Bari lotsaba, and many others also studied under various Nepalese Pandits. They mainly studied higher Tantras. Nepal was such a popular destination due to the popularity of the Nepalese scholars that it had been a dream of every Tibetan Buddhist to go to Nepal for higher learning.

No doubt that Nepalese scholars rendered invaluable services in the study and practice of Buddhism. Their contribution in Tibetan Buddhism is noteworthy. Nepal always remained a center of learning for Tibetans. Many Tibetans made arduous journey across the Himalaya without taking notice of troubles of high Himalayan journey admired by the zeal of learning Buddhism. The Nepalese scholars taught them the tradition of various Buddhist Tantras such as *Kriya*, *Carya*, *Yoga* and *Anuttara Yoga* Tantra. However, the Tibetan disciples of Nepalese *Gurus* mainly concentrated themselves to learn theoretical as well as the practical aspects of the higher form of Buddhist Tantras.

* Prof. and Dean, Lumbini Buddhist University, Lumbini, Nepal.

The Nepalese scholars contributed to the development of Buddhist scholarship in Nepal and Tibet. In fact, their contribution played important role in the making of the Tibetan scholastic tradition as well. Therefore, Nepalese scholars remained always very prominent for the Tibetan Buddhists. The Buddhist Sanskrit Mss. of Nepal also mentioned the names of many scholars attached to different Viharas. The fact that Buddhist Mss. written in the Newari and Ranjana scripts preserved in various Tibetan monasteries in different parts of Tibet proves the popularity of Nepalese Buddhist scholars as well as texts in Tibet. Not only this, the Newar art and artists equally influenced Tibetan Buddhism in general and art and architecture in particular.

It is noteworthy that beginning of Mahayana doctrine started the tradition of studying Sanskrit in Nepal. Historians assume the date of arrival of Mahayana creeds in Nepal before 4th Century.[2] However, during the ancient times, education was not within the grip of ordinary people.

Historical evidences show that Nepalese scholars started to go to Tibet right during the Licchavi period. *Pema bKathang* mentioned that some enthusiasts of Licchavi origin went to Tibet and became monks. Later they developed their understanding of Buddhism to the extent that they became very famous scholars in Tibet.

Contribution of Nepalese Scholars

In the context of Nepalese Buddhist scholars, there is a long list of prominent scholar who contributed in the development of Buddhism in Tibet. During the medieval times, scholarly activity in Nepal was immense in such a way that Buddhist Masters and the Vajracharyas became very famous scholars of tantra, philosophy, rituals and so on. After twelfth century, it was the dream of every Tibetan Buddhist to go to Nepal and study Buddhism with a Nepalese Guru. Many eminent Tibetan scholars studied Buddhism in Nepal. Even Dharmaswamin, a great Tibetan scholar studied in Nepal. Until Buddhist scholarship showed degrading trend, Nepal has produced a large number of Buddhist scholars. They also had good relations with Nalanda and Vikramsila Mahaviharas. Some of the Nepase scholars also received education there.

The first among the great scholars was Buddhabhadra. He a prominent Nepali Buddhist scholar was born in Kapilvastu. He rendered valuable service in the propagation of Buddhism in China in the 5th Century. He was the first Nepalese monk to visit China. Buddhabhadra was kinsmen of Buddha and a disciple of *Dhyana* Master Buddhasena of Kashmir. He belonged to the Sarvastivada sect. Most of the historians mentioned him as an

Indian.[3] But the native authors considered him to be a Nepalese. Buddhabhadra was born in Nagarahara in Afghanistan in 358 A. D. but his family belonged to the Shakya dynasty of Kapilvastu. Later, he returned to Kapilvastu.[4] He is said to belong to the descent of Amritananda, an uncle of the Buddha. After the death of his father he returned to Kapilvastu with his grandparents, They also died shortly at Kapilvastu. Then he was admitted to the Buddhist order. His devotion to Buddhist creeds made him a great Buddhist Scholar. Later, he worked for the promotion of Buddhism in Kashmir and China. He was famous by the name of the Chuch-Ksien in China. In fact, he was a great Buddhist scholar who had profound knowledge of Buddhism. In the beginning, he lived in Mauthyan Tholo Vihara in Kashmir and taught Buddhism there.[5] A group of five Chinese monks visited to Kashmir to study Buddhism. At their departure to China after completion of studying Buddhism, they requested the abbot of the Vihara to send a Buddhist scholar to China so that they would be able to propagate Buddhism there. He strongly recommended Buddhabhadra for the mission. Consequently, Buddhabhadra set out for China in 406 A.D. with the Chinese. As a Buddhist scholar, he preached Buddhism in China. He solved a lot of puzzling questions relating to Buddhism raised by the Chinese monks in different places. He soon became famous in China. At that time, another Buddhist scholar named Kumarajiva was in the Buddhist mission in China. They worked together. But later Buddhabhadra had difference of opinion with him.[6] They had confrontation which grew very serious. Consequently, Buddhabhadra left Chang-an and went to Nanking. While he reached Nanking for the second time, he became the senior translator at the Tao Chang Ssu monastery. Some renowned Chinese monk scholars worked under him who were engaged in the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. He also collaborated with Fa-hsien to translate Buddhist texts into Chinese. He continued the job until his death in 429 A.D. He translated- Avatamsaka Sutra (50 Chapters),[7] Mahasanghika Vinaya (40 Vols),[8] Mahaparinirvana Sutra (6 vols), Vinayapitaka, Buddhavatamsaka Mahavaipulya Sutra, Buddhanusmriti Samadhi, Jnana Sutra, Samadhi Sutra, Vaipulya Sutra and Manjusri Sutra into Chinese.

In addition to these texts, he also translated several other Buddhist texts.[9] His contribution as a Buddhist scholar is of immense significance. The name of Buddhabhadra is written with golden letters in the history of Buddhism in China. During his stay in China, another Buddhist scholar Kumarajiva was also very popular. But Buddhabhadra confronted with him. He was not inferior as a Buddhist scholar at any cost in front of Kumarajiva.

In the 7th century, Silamanju, a noted scholar went to Tibet with Bhrikuti. He helped Thonmi Sambhota to translate Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Tibetan.[10] Ratnamegha Sutra is one of the texts Silamanju assisted the Tibetan translator to translate into Tibetan. But Silamanju is not mentioned in the Tibetan sources such as *Debther Snon-po*. But other source proves his presence in Tibet as the capacity of a Buddhist scholar.

Advayavajra was a great scholar from Kapilvastu. He taught Buddhist precepts to Tibetan *Sidda* Khyun Po-rnal-byor. The latter was trained in *SamvaramulaTantra* (Abhidhanottara Tantra-nama) by Nepali scholar Pham-thin pa. he also studied work of a translator with *Pandita* Vasumati.[11]

Advyavajra was born in a Brahmin family at Jhotakarani near Kapilvastu. He studied logical treatises of Dinnaga and Dharmakirti, middle way of Nagarjuna and doctrinal aspect of Prajnaparamita under Naropa at Vikramsila and Vijnanavada and Nirakaravyavastha under *Mahasidda* Ratnakarshanti.

The Kagyud-pa tradition describes that he debated with Naropa. It mentions -

> After completing the study of grammar he debated with Naropa, who was victorious. So, he served that teacher. After completing the study of Brahmanical rules and observances, he took ordination under Ratnakarashanti. He became known as Maitri the loving one. He was unmatched in his erudition of the give fields of learning.[12]

He was initiated in Samvara, Hevajra and other Tantras. He learnt philosophy, logic, Sutra, Abhidharma, Vinaya, and trantra. He also studied Tantracintamani and Yogacara philosophy. He was initiated in Tantra by Guru Savaripa and also taught him *Pancakrama* and *caturmudra*.

Advayavajra composed several texts, which made him immortal as Buddhist scholar. His greatest contributions were - Advayavajra Sangraha, Abodhabodhaka, Gurumaitrigitika, Caturmudropadesha, Cittamatradristi, Dohatatvanidhi tattvapadesha and Caturvajragitika. Advyavajrasangraha itself is comprised of twenty one short works.[13] He was also known as Avadhutipa. He wrote famous Sadhanas along with other Buddhist texts. His famous Sadhanas are Simhanada, Vajravarahi and Saptakasara. He is also mentioned in a Sadhana written by Lalitagupta who calls himself as disciple of Advyavajra.[14] Advayavajra is considered a great scholar. He had intuitive vision of things. Following the instructions of his Guru, he undertook the career of writing and teaching Buddhism. Guru Marpa was his disciple. His other famous disciples were Sahajavajra,

Sunyatasamadhi, Ramapala and Vajrapani. It is said that he had discovered two texts of Mahayana Uttara Tantra Shastra and Dharmadharmatabibhanga which he taught these texts to Anandakirti.[15] He was such a great scholar that Taranath has compared him with *Sidda* Naropa.

Advayavajra not only wrote valuable texts, he equally contributed in the development of Tibetan Buddhist literature by translating Buddhist texts. In Tengyur collection, he is referred as author or translator of more than fifty Buddhist texts.[16] In addition to it, Advayavajra wrote many *Carya gita.*[17]

Padmasambhava was able to overcome all obstacles that were against Buddhism. His attempt made Buddhism very popular in Tibet. As the matter of fact, the zeal of Tibetans to acquire knowledge finally started the tradition to go Nepal for higher learning, participate in debate on Buddhist themes and translate Buddhist texts into Tibetan. This tradition shows that Nepal was already exposed to Buddhist scholarship right before 7th century. The development and popularity of Vajrayana Buddhism and tantric practice around 9th century in Tibet and expertise of Nepalese on tantric practices brought them closer to Nepalese Buddhists. Tibetans took benefit from it. Nepalese scholarship was further strengthened from their presence in Nepal. Many Tibetan monks also studies different aspects of Buddhism in famous centers of learning in India such as Vikramsila Mahavihara.

Many Nepalese Buddhist scholars became famous far and wide due to their understanding of Buddhist Tantra, logic, philosophy and precepts. Some of the Nepalese scholars were also very famous at Vikramasila Mahavihara. Ratnakirti, Kanaksri and Vairocana were famous Nepalese scholar at Vikramsila. This Mahavihara was a famous center for Buddhist studies in India. Prominent tantric teachers of India were affiliated to the center. The affiliation of eminent scholars such as Jnanapada, Dipankara bhadra, Lanka Jayabhadra, Sridhara, Bhavabhadra, Bhavyakirti, Lilavajra, Durjayachandra, Samayavajra, Tathagataraksita and Bodhibhadra made it worthy and famous.[18]

Mahapandit Atisa Dipankara came to Nepal on his way to Tibet in the eleventh Century and spent a year in Nepal. He built a Vihara called Tham Vihara in Kathmandu. Many monks were ordained there. Lotsaba Nag-tsho Tshul-Khring-rGyal-ba (Jayasila) who accompanied Atisa in Nepal commented that the style of studying doctrine at the Vihara was very good.[19] He later translated Buddhist texts assisted by *Pandit* Shantibhadra of Nepal.[20]

Atisa Dipamkara had profound impact on Newar Buddhist monasticism. His work *Bodhipathapradipa* finally led to cease the monastic practice in Newar Buddhism. However, Nepalese historians mistakenly pointed out social reforms of Jaysthiti Malla to transform Nepal's celebrate monkhood practice into ritual Buddhism. But interpretation of Atisa in the *Bodhipathapradipa* on the practice of higher Tantra by a monk led to transform celibate monasticism in Nepal.[21]

Atisa had two famous Nepalese disciples named Anupamgupta (Gyod-pa gsan-ba) and Vairocana. Anupamgupta taught Sanskrit grammar to sKor-chum bo who was the disciple of Maitri pa, an expert of *Mahamudra*. He also got lessons on profound meditation (sems-dzin) from Varocana. sKor-chum came to Nepal at the age of 13 for higher Buddhist learning.

During this time, *Sidda* Naropa also came to Nepal along with his disciples to propagate the Tantra. It made Nepal a center of tantric learning. Sometimes later, Tantra took its route to Tibet also. The Nepalese scholars took active part in the propagation of Tantra in Tibet. The Tibetan scholars were influenced by the inquisition of *Sidda* Naropa. So, many Tibetan monks came to study under Naropa's Nepali disciples. His famous Nepalese disciples were Vagisvarakirti, Kanaksri and Mahakaruna. They were very famous among the Tibetans along with other Nepalese scholars Atulyavajra and Mohan rDorje. Vagisvarakuti was also very famous as a Buddhist scholar in Tibet along with his brothers. They were the experts of Tantra. His brothers were Dharmamati, Duskhorpa and Tham Chun-pa. All of them had very good knowledge of Guhyasamaja Tantra.

Vagisvarakirti (Phamthin-pa > Naggi dban phyua gragspa) was much respected in Tibet. He was a great scholar of Guhyasamaja system. Vagisvarakirti, a famous scholar from Vikramsila Mahavihara came to Nepal in the latter part of his life. He preached Tantrayana in Nepal but he hardly preached any other aspect of the doctrine. As he had many consorts, most of the people in Nepal thought that he was incapable of maintaining the conduct of a monk. However, his contribution is invaluable. He built many centers to study Prajnaparamita, Guhyasamaja, Hevajra, CakrasamvaraTantra and Madhyamaka Pramana. He mastered and constantly practiced Vidyasambhara, Prajnaparamita, Sutralamkara, Guhyasamaja, Hevajra, Yamari Tantra and Lankavatara and other Sutras.[22] But there was another Vagisvarakirti in Nepal who was also a very famous scholar of Tantra. The Tibetans respected him very much. Even until now, the Tibetan pilgrims used to visit his birth place called Phambi near Kathmandu. He taught Tantras of Samvara cycle

to lotsaba kLog skya, Ses-rab rtsegs.[23] He also gave Sambara initiation to Mal-gyo Lotsaba bLo-gros-grags in Tibet. Later, Malgyo Lotsaba came to Nepal and studied Samvara Tantra thoroughly from Pham-thin-Pa, his brother Bodhibhadra (Byan-chub bzang po). a disciple of Naropa and Mahakaruna.[24] Phamthin pa also taught Kalacakra to Khon phu ba. He also taught Hevajra and other cycles of Tantra according to the system of Naropa to Tibetan *Pandit* Byun-gnas-rgyal-mtshan (a descendent of Dharmaraja Khri-Sron-lde-btsan). The later composed a commentary on Hevajra Tantra. Its studyhas been continued in the dPyal lineage in Tibet. Lama Taranatha has mentioned Pham-thin pa and his brothers who worked for the welfare of the living beings.[25] In fact, Pham-thin pa was an eminent tantric scholar of Nepal. His brothers were also famous Buddhist scholars. Bodhibhadra a brother of Pham-thin pa was a noted scholar who studied Tantra under *Sidda* Naropa.

Kun-dga-rdorje, a Tibetan scholar was very learned in Nyingma doctrines and obtained the Tantra of new class which were handed down among his ancestors by a Nepalese scholar named Kayasri. Later he went to Nepal and obtained 13 special precepts from a Nepalese scholar Hamu-dkarpo. He also taught Vajravarahi Tantra to Lotsaba bLo-dan-ses-rab.[26] Hamu-dkarpo taught Vajravarahi Tantra to another Tibetan sNubs-ston also.

As noted earlier Nepalese Buddhist scholarship was in its heydays for 400 years until 14th century. But later on the Tibetan sources of 15th century started to mention the Nepalese Buddhists as *Bodo* (dull).[27] The sources of Buddhist history indicate that tantric practices and studies started to degrade in the 14th century. It is said that Nepalese people were influenced by Hinduism. As the matter of fact, due attention was not paid on the study and practice of Tantra. On the other hand, the penetration of Hinduism also affected to some extent. It finally led to degradation of Buddhist scholarship of Nepal. Consequently, Tibetans might have thought Nepalese as dull since they could not maintain the scholastic tradition. But even after 14th century, very few Nepalese scholars were active in Tibet.

Lakshmikara, a Nepali Buddhist scholar was very famous in Tibet in the 15th century. He also helped to translate Avadanakalpalata of Ksemendra and other texts into Tibetan. He is said to have translated Amarkosha into Tibetan.[28] rDorje-grags, a disciple of Ven, sGampo-pa heard the exposition of Tantras including Samvara as well as other Tantras from Atuladas (Atulyadas) in Nepal in the 11th century.[29]

Not only the native scholars, prominent Indian and Tibetan scholars also visited Nepal who had very good relations with the Nepalese scholars. Some of the prominent

Indian scholars permanently resided in Nepal. Their presence inspired Nepalese Buddhists to study and practice Buddhism. Consequently, Nepal produced many eminent scholars. The Nepalese scholars were the Master of Tantra, logic, ritual, philosophy and so on. One famous scholar from among the Indian who resided in Nepal and contributed in the development of Buddhist scholarship was Vajrapani (Gyagar Phyag-na). While in India, he taught to rMa-lotsaba, the rebirth of Thon-mi and Marpa Dopa.[30] A famous Tibetan scholar, dPyal Byun-gnas rgyal-mtshan studied under him in Nepal.

According to the Buddhist tradition, a Tibetan scholar who was the disciple of *Sidda* Tillipa was reborn as Sarvavid (Kunrig) at Jalandhar. After that he was again reborn as gZon-nu gsan-Chol in Nepal. He studied Tantra. He believed that -[31]

> It is said in the Tantras, that one is unable to attain Buddhahood without following the Tantra. Further it is said that the practice of the Tantra depends solely on the teacher.

Then he was prophesied to meet the incarnation of the Buddha in Tibet. He related the prophecy to his teacher Vajrapani. Therefore, he believed Vajrapani to be the incarnation of the Buddha. At that time, he was in Nepal. In fact, the Indian Vajrapani came to Nepal and practiced Tantra. Later at the age of 50 in 1066 A.D, he permanently settled at Yeran (Patan).[32] Tibetan scholars such as Brog-Jo-Sras and others visited Nepal to preach Buddhist doctrines. Vajrapani bestowed upon them the cycle of *Doha*, Sutra and twenty seven mother Tantra. He also bound them with the four *Mudra* (*Karma*, *Dharma*, *Maha* and *Samaya Mudra*), the theory accompanying tradition and reasoning, and meditation accompanied by experience etc.

He also taught several other Buddhist texts known as the cycle of lesser texts. Vajrapani visited Tibet at the invitation of Tibetan scholar Brog-Jo-Sras. While at Chu-sgo, he preached *Mahamudra* doctrine to other Tibetan scholars. The doctrine which was originated by Vajrapani. His disciples in Tibet are known as the upper school of *Mahamudra* (sTod-lugs). Asu, a grandson of a priest of Bharo family in Nepal was also his famous disciple. After getting precepts from Vajrapani, the Nepali disciple realized the truth and became the saint. He also went to Tibet and taught the cycle of Vajravarahi Tantra and *Doha* and *Mahamudra* to 10,000 monks. [33] He had seven children in Tibet. His eldest son, Grags-pa Senge mastered the theories of his father. He was also a reputed scholar.

It is said that Vajrapani had amazing miraculous power. He also possessed miraculous hidden precepts of several headed Vajravarahi. In his old age, he gave ten texts of *Mahamudra* to Nag-po ser-dad mNaris. Those texts are entitled – Dohakosagiti, Dohakosanamacaryagiti, Kayakosamrita Vajragiti, Vakkosarucirasvavavajragiti, Cittakosaja Vajragiti, Kayavakcitta Manasakaranama, Bhavanakramasatakanama, Aryaatajnananam Mahayana Sutra, Anavila Tantraraja, and Sri Anavilanama Tantrapanjika.

The later was the disciple of Gos-lotsaba. The lotsabas are very important in Tibetan Buddhist history. They were also great scholars opf Buddhism. Chag-lotsaba was also a great scholar who studied under the Nepalese *Gurus* - Ravindradeva and Ratnaraksita.[34]

A brief discussion on scholarly activities of Nepalese as well as the Tibetans helps us to analyse the Buddhist scholastic tradition of Nepal and interaction between them. The contemporary environment was very favourable for the growth of Buddhist scholarship in Nepal. Therefore, the activities of both the Indian and Tibetan scholars further contributed to develop Nepalese Buddhist scholarship.

Another noted Nepali scholar was Atulyavajra (Mi-mnam rdo-rje). He was a descendant of Phamthin pa along with Mahakaruna and Mohan rDo- rje. He taught Tantra to rNog-Lo-chen-Po, a Tibetan *Tripitakadhara*.[35] Sidda Khyunpo-rnal-byor, who introduced the *Upayamarga* of six doctrines founded by Niguma, a sister of Naropa (bestowed on master Marpa by *Sidda* Naropa) in Tibet, was well received by Atulyavajra.

Kanaksri was also a disciple of Naropa. He also studied under Dipankara Srijnana. Many prominent Buddhist scholars of Nepal and Tibet were his disciples. Mahakaruna (Yerangba), a famous Nepali scholar was his disciple. Tantric *Sidda* Naropa had many eminent scholarly disciples such as Manaksri, Prajnaraksita, Bodhibhadra, (Kha che Byan-chub- bzan-po) Phamthin-pa, Pramudavajra and others.[36] Marpa-Dopa obtained instructions on exposition of the Naropa's system from Kanaksri. He also studied Tantra and other expositions under Nepalese *Pandits* Vagisvarakirti and Bodhibhadra. He also received many instructions from *Sidda* Vajrapani (Phyag-na), a disciple of Maitripa who, at that time was residing in Nepal.

Jagadanada Jivabhadra of Patan is also mentioned as a famous *Pandit* in *Deb then Snon po*. He was a *Pandit* in the lineage of *Kriyasamuccaya* (*Vajracaryakriyasamuccaya*) composed by *Sidda* Darpanacharya. His son Mahabodhi was also a known *Pandit* in the

same lineage. It is said when the text of *samuccaya* was not translated into Tibetan, Jam-dbyans Don-yod rgyal-mtshan obtained the text from a Nepalese merchant. At the time when the text was yet to be translated into Tibetan, Lotsaba Ca-bzan-Pa bLo gros rgyal-mtshan heard that mNa-ris-pa rdo-rje-dPal had obtained the initiation of *Samuccaya* at Kathmandu. Then seven Tibetans Buddhists came to Nepal to obtain initiation on *Samuccaya*. They obtained complete initiation and permission to read the text from *Pandit* Mahabodhi.[37]

Kayasri was another noted native scholar of Tantra. He handed down the Tantra of new class among the ancestors of dPyal Byun-gnas rgyal mtshan. He also handed down the precepts of the Nam-mkha-skor-gsum to him. The precepts represented a *Pratyahara* precept which served as the path based on *Sunyata*. Kayasri obtained this precept from saint Sunyaratha (Ni-mai sin-rta).[38]

Devakarachandra's (sTon-rid Tindzin) secret name was Sunyata Samadhivajra. He belonged to a noble family in Kathmandu. He was the only son in the family. His family was associated with Yangal Vihara in Kathmandu. He went to India and requested for ordination at Vikramsila Mahavihara. But at that time the number of ordained monks at Vikramsila were complete. It had fixed number of 50 monks and 13 novices at a time. He then studied Sanskrit and logic. He also studied *Samputa* and *Hevajra Tantra* under a Nepalese Guru, Ratnasri. Later on Devakarachandra became a reputed scholar. While in Nepal he met Pindapatika and requested him to confer upon the initiation. He repeatedly begged for precepts. Finally Mahebharo and Devakarachandra were given initiation and bestowed on them the secret precepts. Devakarachanda requested the teacher to write down *Sri Tattvajnana Siddi*, *Sarvarthasiddi Sadhananama*, and *Srivajrayogini Homa Vidhi*. But the teacher did not agree on his request. Then Buddhadatta, a nephew of the teacher wrote *Vajrayogini Homa Vidhi*. The teacher also bestowed on Punyakarbhadra (Hamu dkarpo) the complete initiation and precepts. Guru Paindapatika visited Bodhgaya with Devakarchandra and other disciples. Then our scholar practiced meditation for six years and obtained special faculties. He wrote several important texts on Buddhism. Some of his texts are -[39]

1. Zal-gnis-ma Che-ba
2. Don-gsal-ma Che-ba
3. bDag-med-mai mnon-par-rtogs-pa
4. sPyan mai-nan-son yons-su sbyon-ba , and

5. Kyei-rdo-rje dkyil khor-gyi cho-ga

Devakarchandra taught Varahi Tantra to Punyakarabhadra (Hamu dkarpo). His title as a scholar was Varendraruchi. Similarly, he also taught the cycle of Tantra to dPyal Kundga rdo-rje. He also taught *Pramanavartika* to Ban-phyug-ide. In Taranatha's historical account, he is mentioned as a direct disciple of Naropa. In Tengyur three tantric works are attributed to him.[40]

Nepalese *Pandit* Nyayasri was also a famous *Pandit*. He was one of the teachers of sTenpa-Pa Lotsaba Tshul-khrims byun-gnas.

Buddhasri as a scholar is referred by Lama Taranath (Kun-dga-snin-po or Anandagarbha) in his history (1608 A.D.> rGya-gar-chos-byun). He equated the Nepalese scholar with great scholars *Mahapandit* Shakyasribhadra of Kashmir, Mahaacharya Ratnaraksita, Jnanakaragupta. Buddhasrimitra, Samghajnana, Ravisribhadra, Chandrakaragupta and others. Buddhasri was famous as one of the twenty four great *Mahantas*. He also acted for a short time as the *Sthavira* of Mahasanghikas at Vikramsila Mahavihara. It, to some extent defines his intelligentsia on Buddhism. After returning to Nepal, he extensively preached *Prajnaparamita* and GuhyasamajaTantra.[41]

Ratnaraksita, a great Mahasanghika tantric scholar at Vikramsila also went to Nepal after the destruction of the Mahavihara by the Turk invaders. He had visualized many tutelary deities such as Cakrasamvara, Kalacakra and Yamari. In the mean time, the other *Mahantas* and great scholars went to the South Western part of India, Pu-khan, Mu-nan, Kambo-ja, Tibet, Jagaddala and Advisa.[42] The arrival of *Pandit* Ratnaraksita certainly inspired Nepalese Buddhists to devote on learning and teaching it to other disciples. No other details of his activities are found yet.

Indian Pandit Atisa Dipankara went to Tibet via Nepal. His activities in Nepal had deep influence on Nepalese Buddhism. He had some Nepalese disciples also. Anutapagupta (Gyod-pa gsan-ba) and Vairocana were his famous Nepalese disciples. They are believed to possess miraculous power. The former taught Sanskrit grammar to Skor chun ba who mastered on the subject within a year.

Bharo - the one handed was an eminent Buddhist scholar of Nepal. A yogi named Rwa-tu-can said- [43]

> In this country of Nepal- there are many Pandits such as the Indian Vajrapani, Phamthin pa and Bharo - the one handed...

This statement equates the 11th Century scholar with famous Indian *Pandit* Vajrapani as well as Vagisvarakirti of Vikramasila. He was the expert of Yamari Tantra. He was trained under *Mahasidda* Padmavajra. Later, Bharo rendered valuable services in the development of Buddhist scholarship of Nepal. He was given full ordination by *Pandit* Shantijnanagarbha giving the name of *Mahapandit* Shantibhadra (Bharo). After coming back to Nepal, he made an immense contribution on Buddhist tantric learning. He had both Newar and Tibetan disciples. Some of his prominent disciples were - Kyo brothers, Rwa Lo Dorje trag, Gos-lo Sonam tsemo, Mal Lo Lodro-tragpa, and Bari Lotsaba Rinchen Tragpa. [44]

Mahapandit Bharo lived at Chobhar with a large number of Newar *Yogins*. He taught Tantra to many learned *yogis*. Bharo - the maimed handed is mentioned as a great learned man in Tibetan historical sources also. During 11th Century, Nepal especially Yerang already became a popular destination of Tibetan Buddhists to study different branches of Buddhism. It is thus described-

> Numerous are the places full of wonder where the teacher set in motion the wheel of Dharma and where he set foot. Also residences of Panditas and Mahasiddhas, as well as Cremation grounds where the Heroes are Dakinis gotter, so that this Nepal Valley is like an equivalent of the awe-inspiring Khechari continent of the Dakinis.[45]

Bharo lived in such a place. Rwa lotsaba (Vajrakirti) was his famous disciple who studied Tantra (Yamari, Vajravarahi etc.) under him. He also received a large number of teaching on the *dharma* from many other Newar *Pandits* and other realized *Yogins*.

Mahakaruna (Thugs-rje-chen-po) was a very famous Nepalese scholar among the Tibetans. He was the disciple of another Nepalese scholar named Kanakasri. Many famous Tibetan Buddhists were trained under him. He is also referred to as Yerang ba in *Debther Snog-po*.[46] *Pandit* Mahakaruna gave teachings of exposition of the doctrine of Maitripa to Tibetan scholar Khon-phu-ba. Maitripa also studied from Tibetan *Gurus* and later went to India for further learning. He became the Master of Guhyasamaja Tantra according to the method of Nagrijuna, YogaTantra, and Kalacakra Tantra. He also studied Sarvatathagatatattva Sangrahanama Mahayana Sutra, Vajrasekhara Mahaguhya Yoga Tantra, Sriparamadya Mahayanakalparaja, Dohakoshagiti and Vajradaka Tantra. Our *Pandit* was the *Guru* of such a great scholar (Maitri-pa). Mahakaruna also translated three chapters of second half of the commentary of *Sarvatathagatatattva Sangraha Mahayana*

Abhisamayanama- Tantratattva Lokakarinama Vyakha[47] Rwa Lotsaba attended *Pandit* Mahakaruna without fail while in Nepal. Rwa-lo extensively studied under him and became very learned. His training helped Rwa lotsaba to master in - Sambara Tantra, Vajradaka, Abhidhanottara Tantra, Samputa Tantra, Heruka- abhyudaya, Yoginicarya, Cakrasambara, Vajrasattva Sadhana, Vajramahabhairav Tantra, Vajrabhairavakalpa, Krishnayamari Tantra, Namasangiti, Vajrayogini Sadhana, Vajrayogini Tika, the cycle of Yamantaka, Dakini Sarvacittad Vayacintyajnana Vajravarahyabhihava Tantraraja-nama , and Krishna Yamarikalpa

Rwa-lo translated some of the famous texts into Tibetan that include- Samputa Tantra, AbhidhanottaraTantranama, Herukabhyudaya, Srivajramahabhairavanama Tantra, and Namasangiti.[48]

Rwa-lo paid several golden *srans* (gold coins) to learn each Tantra. He invited the Guru to Tibet and offered 1000 golden *Srans* to him as gift at his return to Nepal. Till his death, he sent on thirty seven times offerings to him.[49] *Pandit* Mahakaruna also taught Samvara Tantra to Malgyo Lotsaba bLo-gros-grags.

Ratnakirti was a noted scholar from Nepal. He was affiliated to Vikramsila Mahavihara as a scholar. He also belonged to the spiritual lineage of Acharya Abhaya of Vajramala and Sri Samputa Tantraraja tika Nyayamajarinama. Both were bestowed on *Dharmaraja* Grags-pa byun-nas-pa by *Pandit* Vanaratna.[50]

Ratnasri was another Buddhist *Pandit* of Samputa and Hevajra Tantra. He taught these Tantra to another Nepalese disciple Devakarachandra who later became a great scholar. It is said that he learnt *Kalacakra* Tantra from Acharya Duskhor ba.[51] Chag Lotsaba obtained his help to translate some of the Buddhist texts into Tibetan.

Ravindradeva was a learned man from Svayambhu. He was the teacher of Chag Lotsaba (*Dharmaswamin*). He taught him Tantra. Similarly, Chag-lo also took lessons from Ratnakarashanti while he was in Nepal.[52]

There are several popular belief relating to the Buddhist scholars of Nepal as well as Tibet. It is said that when Ven. Grags-rgyal died all the deities of Samvara family appeared on his skull and other signs on his jaw which preserved in a Caitya in Tibet. Nepalese *Pandit* Ravindradeva indicated to Chag- Lo that the Caitya had fallen in ruins. Later, Chag Lotsaba renovated the Caitya. The consecration ritual was performed by Ravindradeva in Nepal. It is said that a shower of rice grain fell at Teura in Tibet. The Caitya is known as *The white Lightening Proof Caitya* in Tibet.[53]

Nepalese scholar Shantibhadra is also known as Dze-hum. Nag-tsho Lotsaba obtained help from Shantibhadra to translate several Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Tibetan. He was the Master of Guhyasamaja. He was one of the seventy teachers under whom Ven. Gos lhas btas (Gos Khug-Pa) studied Tantra. In fact, Nepalese scholar Mahakaruna also taught the Tantra to him. Later, Shantibhadra taught tantric commentaries as well as hidden precepts of Gyi Jo Lotsaba (Zla ba od-zer). The Lotsaba also obtained many initiation.[54] Shantibhadra had scholarly disciple named Krishnapada, who was the Guru of Tibetan scholar Marpa-Dopa.

Pandit Silasagar was the expert of Bodhicaryavatara. He is referred to as the great *Pandit* in Tibetan historical sources.[55] He trained Lotsaba dPyal Chos-Kyi bzan-Po on Bodhicittopada based on the method of Bodhicaryavatara. The Lotsaba himself was a great scholar of Hevajra Tantra and Sadangayoga who wrote very famous book entitled- *The Key to the Casket of Precious Stone* (Rin-Po-che sgom-gyi lde-mig).[56]

Historians are of opinion that Sumatikuti was also a Nepali scholar. He taught Buddhist doctrines to Tibetans.[57] He helped Marpa- Dopa to translate texts of Sambara Tantra cycle into Tibetan.

Vibhutichandra was also a well known Buddhist scholar from Nepal. He taught grammar to Tibetans. Once when he was teaching grammar to five disciples, a *yogin* in black dress came there. The disciples informed the teacher about his arrival. The *Pandit* understood that the *yogin* was no other than Sabari dBan Phyug. So, he requested the *yogin* to bestow on him the Sadanga Yoga, the essence of all the Tantras. The *yogin* bestowed him the yoga. He stayed there for 21 days and left for Kashmir. Then the *Pandit* asked Tibetans about the most famous *Kalyanamitra* (Spiritual friend). They referred the name of Ko-brag-pa. Vibhuticandra wrote to him that he possessed the profound precepts of Sabari dRan-Phyug and asked him to come to receive them. Ko-brag-pa dispatched suitable presents to the *Pandit* and his retinue. He also requested him to visit Tibet. As the matter of fact, Vibhuticandra visited Dingri and bestowed the hidden precepts on Ko-brag pa, dPyal A-mo-gha, gYun-Phug-Pa, Neg-Po Chos-ldan, and Mar-ston gYan bar.[58]

In addition to these scholars, there were other Nepalese Buddhist scholars who had very good relations with Tibetans Buddhists. They were Sunayasri, Mahebharo, Silabharo, Bhadanta, Nepalese disciples of Atisa and others. Many Vajracaryas affiliated to Vihara *Sangha* were also noted scholars in Nepal. Patan has produced many other reputed scholars. Amritananda, Gunananda and many others were also noted scholars of their time.

Local Buddhist scholars were affiliated to the local Mahaviharas. Many of them wrote, edited or translated Mahayana texts.[59] This tradition has still been undergoing. But in present times, the so-called scholars lack professional and above all the scholarly qualities.

As mentioned earlier, many Nepalese scholars are referred in Tibetan sources. In fact, all those who are mentioned in the Tibetan sources had certain kind of relationship with Tibetan Buddhists and contributed in the Buddhist scholarship of Tibet by providing training to them in secret precepts, doctrines, Sutra, Tantra and other branches of Buddhism. Many of them went to Tibet for the scholarly purposes. In addition to it, there were many other Nepalese scholars who are not mentioned in the Tibetan sources. Generally, they were not associated with the Tibetans. They lived in Nepal and remained busy in religious activities or personal studies. Some of them wrote very good *Caryagita*. However, their scholarship may not be under estimated at any cost. They studied and mastered in Buddhism. As a matter of fact, they taught doctrines to their local disciples and also wrote texts such as *caryagiti*, Tantra commentaries and so forth. Most of them were the Vajracharya priests and the Masters of Vajrayana rituals. Nepalese authors have compiled the list of such native scholars and their contribution in Buddhist scholarship.[60]

In a local Newari writing, thirty two Vajracharyas are mentioned as the great scholars in the local tradition. It is obvious to note that cultural and religious history of Nepal identify that there were many prominent non-Vajracharya Buddhist scholars in Nepal. However, there were many other Vajracharya scholars beyond the list of 32 Vajracharyas prepared by Badri Ratna Vajracharya. Another list mentions Silamanju, Bodhigupta, Vagisvarakirti, Shantibhadra, Ratnakarashanti, Anantasri, Gautamsri, Shubhasri, Ravindradeva, Vajrakarajiva, Kirtisri Jnana, Bibratachandrapala, Biramati, Ratnaraksita Ravindra, Ksemendra, Srijayananda, Srijnanakirtisena and Subodhajiva as other prominent scholarly Vajracharyas. [61] According to the Nepalese tradition, one who performed studies with a *Stavira* in a Vihara and lived according to the prescribed rules could become a Vajracharya. The incumbent initially becomes a novice (*Sramaner)*. His head is shaved under a ritual process at the presence of the *Sthavira* and then confer *Prabajjasambara*. He lives in the Vihara and studies Buddhism for 4, 10, 16, 20 and 25 years or more. After completion of the studies, the *Bhikshu* returns to the worldly life. Then he is conferred upon the Vajracharya consecration. But gradually this tradition marked changes and degradation. Consequently, the number of scholarly Vajracharyas went down. The tradition of Buddhist scholarship was more effected. The quality of

scholars in later years did not meet the average standard that requires to be in a scholar. No Buddhists show keen interest and devotion to study Sanskrit Buddhist texts. The Buddhists of Nepal especially the Newars lacks the knowledge and quality to with the classical Sanskrit Buddhist texts to develop expertise. The volumes of MSS in Buddhist households remained unnoticed. Due to the religious reasons, the Buddhists themselves started putting such manuscripts inside the Caitya as a pious act rather than studying it. Since the 14th Century, prominent Vajracharyas were confined mostly in writing *caca* songs they paid no attention to learn and practice the higher Tantra, yoga and philosophical treatises. Only the Vajracaryas namely Humkaravajra, Sasvatvajra, Vakvajra, Ratnavajra, Lilavajra and Manjuvajra, wrote texts other than *caca* song. Most of the note local Vajracharyas wrote only *caca* songs to praise the Buddha and other Buddhist deities.[62] However, various mysterious stories are associated with their activities which are quite popular among the Buddhists. Most of such stories are without historical credibility.

Humkarvajra Vajracarya of Mantrasiddi Mahavihara (Sabal Bahal) wrote very important texts such as Vajraheruka Sadhana, Sarva Buddha Samayoga Sadhana, Herukanama Sadhana and Vajrayogini Visuddi Stotra.

Another famous Vajracharya Sasvat Vajra also belonged to Sabal Bahal. He was famous as a tantric scholar of his time in Kathmandu. He wrote several books covering the areas such as *Sadhana*, *Pujavidhi*, *Caca* etc.. Vakvajra Vajracharya who lived in Maitripur Mahavihar is said to have supernatural and mystical powers. He also wrote famous books including - Cakrasamvaratattvabhanga Sangraha, Kalacakrasupratisthopayika Vidhi, Vajravarahisamksipta Stotra, Sambaradvaitadhyanopadhesha Yoga Candali.

Ratnavajra Vajracharya of Jhwa Baha was a famous *Pandit*. He had obtained the *Yoga Siddi*. He wrote several important texts on Tantra. It include - Sunyavajra Tantra Rajbritti, Sri Heruka Sadhana, Akshobhya Sadhana, and Caryagiti.[63]

Lilavajra Vajracharya was a great tantric practitioner of Sikamu baha (Tarumul Mahavihara) in Kathmandu. He is credited to write important Mahayana texts such as - Sahajasunyasamaja Sadhana and Shahajasiddi.[64]

There are other Vajracharyas also who contributed mostly in Vajrayana Tantra. Manjuvajra (Vajrabhairav Sadhannama) and Amoghavajra (Mahabhairav Homa Vidhi) also wrote *Caca* as well as Tantra related texts. But *Caca* was very popular among the Vajracharyas. Nepalese Vajracharya scholars composed so many *Caca* songs on different titles. Those Vajracarya are the masters of rituals and considered learned people in the

Nepalese Buddhist society. Some *Caca* songs became very popular in Nepal. Some of the famous Vajracharya and titles of *caca* songs written by them are listed below. Following table gives lists of Vajracharya scholars and *Caca* songs written by them.

Vajracharya	Title of Caca Song	Raga	Tal
Omkarvajra	* Vishwasaroruha * Gaya Jina * Astacatvarinsat * Udayagiri	* Karnadi * Bhairavi * Todi * Nat	* Jhapa * Ektala * Matha * Jati
Humkarvajra	* Humjata Vishwarupa * Kulishotpatti * Jayabighnantaka * Vishwavarnatanu	* Lalit * Mallar * Lalit * Mallar	* Jhapa * Matha * Jhapa * Jhapa
Sasvatvajra	* Pancakapala * Purva Brahmayani * Nemani Kamala * Vajradhara Panca Buddha * Tridala Saroruha	* Todi * Bhairav * Hindol * Madhunat * Madhunat	* Ksadan gara * Jhapa * Matha * Durjam an * Durjam an
Vakvajra	* Raktavarna * Vam dhina * Hariharabhrahma * Namamijina Dharmadhaku	* Nat * Malsi * Lalit * Nat	* Jati * Math * Jhapa * Jati
Vachasiddi	* Raktavarnatrini Loyan Sundari * Vamdahiney Edvayi dharani * Harihar Brahma * Namamidharmadhatu Svayambhu * Namamisvayambhu * Hevajra Nairatma, Tribhuvan Gatha	* Nat * Malasri * Lalit * Nat * Nat * Karnadi	* Jati * Mattra * Jhapa * Jati * Jati * Jhapa

	* Rakta Vadana Tripuropamisal	* Nat	* Jhapa
Paramadivajra	* Pramudita * Jvalitavajranala * Namami Candamaharosana * Sasvat Vajra * Kamal bilasita * Jvalad Cakra * Vishva Saroruha Bindu	* Madhumat * Pancama * Bhairavi * Desar * Hibeda * - * -	* Durjam an * Jhapa * Jhapa * Math * Matha * - * -
Ratnavajra	* Tridala Padmopari * Humkara Sanjata * Anjiv Sambhav * Anitila Varna * Dvibhuja Ekamukha * Nritati Param * Pratpalidha Pada * Vishwa Kamal * Ratna Bharana * Raktavarna Deha * Swetavarna Ekamukha * Adi Varnodbhava * Vajrasana Sthita * Tribhuvan Jayanti * Saroja Patra Nayana * Pawana Mandala	* Dhana Sri * Pancham * Kamod * Kamod * Sringarmals ri * Mallar * Kamod * Mallar * Lalitmanjari * Karnadi * Nat * Dhanasri * Karnadi * Nat * Ramkari * Bhairavi	* Caspati * Matha * Shadang ara * Shadang ara * Matha * Jhapa * Shadang ara * Jhapa * Jati * Jhapa * Jati * Chapati * Jhapa * Jati * Jati * Jhapa

Suratvajra	* Shodashahayana	* Lalit	* Jhapa
	* Nabhi Mandala	* Vibhasa	* Matha
	* E Mahimandala	* Bhairavi	* Sani
	* Jaya Banchhali	* Panchama	* Trihula
	* Bhaswara	* Bhairavi	* Ekatala
	* Vishaya Vishaya	* Lalit	* Jhapa
	* Gharghar	* Vibhasa	* Matha
	* Sri Mahamanjusri	* Nat	* Jati
	* Dina Mani Manula	* Taravali	* —
	* Kalpavasthita	* Lalit	* —
	* Humkara Sambhava	* —	* —
	* Sahaj Saroruha	* —	* —
Jivachandra	* Dakinidevi	* -	* —
	* Maladevi	* -	* —
	* Khandorohadevi	* -	* —
Lilavajra	* Hevajra Nairatma	* Kanadi	* Jhapa
	* Hadabharan Kriyayire samvara	* Ahedi	* Matha
	* Vajramaya bhumi	* Madhumat	* Durjam an
Manjuvajra	* Nama Mira Sri Harati	* Bhairavi	* Trihula
Amoghvajra	* Uranga Bharna	* Lalitgunjali	* Jati
	* Gauri Chauri	* Malava	* Jhapa
Siddivajra	* Jinavarajani	* Basanta	* Jhapa
	* Purvabhimukha	* Malava	* Matha
	* Sahasradala majhe	* Bhasa	* Matha
	* Surya Mandala	* Malava	* Jhapa
	* Astarachaku	* Mallav	* Matha
	* Kanah Giru	* Dhanasri	* Caspati
Hasavajra	* Tridalasaro Ruha	* —	* —
	* Divyarupi Surapi	* —	* —
Vilasvajra	* Tridala Panka Majhe	* -	* -

	* Myedani Jala Agni * Namami SriMahakal	* - * -	* - * -
Mahasukhavajra	* Analamandala * Prasamya Kamalapari * Him Bija Sambhava * Humkar Sambhava * Padmapari Indumandala	* --- * --- * --- * --- * ---	* --- * --- * --- * --- * ---
Srivajra	* Humbija Sambhava * Citracakrastara * Purvadigampati * Smalika Kulisha	* --- * Lalit * Kamod * ---	* --- * Malha * Sadangk ara * ---
Anupamvajra	* Bhanumandal * Bhaskara Mandala	* --- * ---	* --- * ---
Vikramvajra	* Taravi Mandala	* ---	* ---
Munindravajra	* Kumud Puskara	* ---	* ---
Sivavajra	* Vishwambhaja chandra * Lohitavarna * Hum jata Bhairaw	* --- * --- * ---	* --- * --- * ---
Gitavajra	* Traiyamtrisa Natha	* Kamod	* Ksadan gkara
Sasaravajra	* Savakranta	* Dhanasra	* Jati
Tathagatavajra	* Adi Sunya	* -	* -
Svayambhuvajra	* Hiranyavarna	* -	* -
Induvajra	* Arunavarna	* -	* -

In addition to all those Vajracarya, there were other local Vajracarya priests who possessed certain kind of scholarly qualities. No doubt that Nepal's medieval scholarship marked degradation after 14th century. But the tradition of delivering Buddhist teaching on several occasions mainly in Vajrayana Vihara tried to continue the tradition irrespective of scholarly qualities of local Buddhists. This tradition tended to continue even since the medieval times among the Newar Buddhist of Nepal. It is described in the MSS of

Buddhist texts. A Mss. of Bhadrakalpavadana in the possession of Harsha Ratna Dhakhwa of Patan mentions that -[65]

Mahapandit Nilamuni a descendent of Pt. Sunayasri Mishra of Yampi Vihar gave teaching of Bhadrakalpavadana at BuBahal in N.S. 955. It was sponsored by donors Jagayyoti Vajracharya, Lakshmijyoti Vajracharya, and Narendrajyoti Vajracharya.

In the later Malla period, the scholarly interaction with Tibetan Buddhist scholarly community came to stand still. No activities of contemporary Buddhist scholars created interest in Tibetans to turn for learning Buddhist doctrines and precepts. However, there remained a grade of local scholars who were merely confined to translate Buddhist texts into Newari. However, some of the Newar scholars are still worthy of mentioning. *Pandit* Ratna Bahadur Vajracharya is one among other notable scholars.[66] He also helped to Sylvan Levi during his research in Nepal. The Newar scholars at present times mostly confined to translate Mahayana Sanskrit texts into Newari. The Newar scholars of medieval time wrote texts such as *Pujavidhi*, *Vratavidhi* and *carya* songs. In fact, Nepalese scholars started writing Buddhist texts right since the 11th century. Anupamvajra wrote a very famous text entitled - *Adikarmapradipa*.[67] This text is considered to be valuable in the Vajrayana tradition of Nepal.

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Vagisvarakirti (Pham-thin-pa) should not be confused with *Pandit* Vagisvarakirti who was the Southern gatekeeper at Vikramsila. Our scholar was lived in Pharping (Phampi). He was a famous tantric scholar. He is venerable to all the Tibetan Buddhists. As a matter of fact, Pharping, his home town is still a sacred place and a place of pilgrimage of them. His remains is said to be buried at Lo-Chia-tun near Lan-Chey in Kansu (China) where he died at his return from a pilgrimage in Wu-tai-shan.
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ENVIRONMENTAL ECOLOGY AND BUDDHISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

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INTRODUCTION

It is high time to talk about Environmental Ecology in the paradigm of Buddhism primarily because the changing scenario of the globe has pushed society and humanity to the brink of catastrophe of climate change. There is explosion in world population compounded by insatiable desire and greed for consumerism and development. As a result, there are deforestation, global warming, disproportionate flood, altered wind rotation, rainfall and melting of iceberg, and so on. It is truism that the mankind is being affected very badly in this dispensation. In a nutshell, the nature has become a victim of the modern era.

In this scenario, Buddhism can play a decisive role for providing, sustaining, and preserving Environmental Ecology and thereby climatic change in the modern age. The religion of *Shakya Muni* Gautama Buddha is totally compatible with the concept of Environmental Ecology, that is to say, Natural surroundings. In fact, there is respect, regard and reverence for Nature in Buddhism. The tenets, doctrines, and philosophy of Buddhism are the best suited for practing of Environmental Ecology. Buddhism can resurrect the balance of nature by invoking the salient features and characteristics of sermons and discourses of Gautama Buddha for peaceful co-existence, harmonious surroundings and symbiotic relationship between man and nature.

This paper provides the concept and practice of Environmental Ecology in respect of multifaceted relations between Buddhism and environment. The primary aim is to determine that the canonical as well as extra-canonical Buddhist teachings are eco-friendly.

The idea of Environmental Ecology vis-à-vis Buddhism is of contemporary world, which is an extension of the perception of "Engaged Buddhism". The renowned Vietnamese savant Tich Nhat Hanh has coined the nomenclature "Engaged Buddhism" in

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his great work titled "*Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire*". The notion of Environmental Ecology and Buddhism is very unique, and it is founded on pragmatic realism. The philosophy behind Environmental Ecology vis-à-vis Buddhism is to apply religion [read: Buddhism] for preservation of Environmental Ecology, that is to say, plants and animals in particular and nature in general. The empirical aspect of Buddhism has been highlighted in regard to flora and fauna, and gift of nature, such as air, water, fire, earth, sky, and so forth.

The entire corpus of discourses and sermons of Gautama Buddha delineates the theoretical aspect as well as practical aspect. In the Buddhist parlance, the theoretical aspect and practical aspect are construed as the *pariyatti* and *patipatti* respectively.[1]

Environmental Ecology may be invoked on the foundation of Buddhist doctrines, thoughts and ideals:

ENVIRONMENTAL ECOLOGY AND INTER-DEPENDENCE

Buddhism enjoins the adoption of inter-dependence. This metaphysical concept is known as the "*Pratityasamutpada*", [2] that is to say, the "Doctrine of Dependent Origination" in the Buddhistic parlance. According to the afore-noted concept, everything is relative in the universe. Nothing is permanent. In a nut-shell, every entity of this universe should live in a peaceful co-existence manner primarily because every entity is inter-dependent. This is a unique concept perhaps exclusive one of Buddhism.

The Doctrine of Dependent Origination is the foundation of all the teachings of Gautama Buddha. The second noble Truth and the Third Noble Truth constitute the doctrine of Dependent Origination. The second Noble truth connotes the cause of sufferings and the Third Noble truth gives the annihilation of sufferings. The *Pratityasamutpāda* may be analyzed on the basis of scientific methodology. This doctrine is based on the theory of causality. [3] It means everything is relative, and nothing is permanent.

The great twentieth century scientist Albert Einstein also propounded the theory of Relativity, which is totally in agreement with the doctrine of Dependent Origination. In short, nothing is permanent in this universe. Conversely, everything is relative. This is the essence of teachings of Gautama Buddha. By implication, every person, society, country, continent, and so on are interdependent.

Further, there is symbiotic relationship between human beings and Environmental Ecology, that is to say, plants, animals and nature. It is a scientific fact that human beings and animals inhale oxygen and exhale carbon dioxide where as plants inhale carbon dioxide and exhale oxygen in a diurnal ambience. In short, there is interdependence between man and plants. This natural phenomenon is completely compatible to the Doctrine of Dependent Origination, that is to say, *Pratityasamutpāda.* Thus, Environmental Ecology is in line with the Buddhist discourse.

ENVIRONMENTAL ECOLOGY AND AHIMSA

Ahimsa [4] implies refraining from killings of living beings. Plants are also living beings. So, how can a follower of Ahimsa destroy a plant life? Moreover, Ahimsa has been accorded utmost importance in Buddhism. In the *Catuhasataka* of Aryadeva, it is stated that *Tathagata* has enunciated *Dharma* in the frame-work of Ahimsa. The *Catuhasataka* [5] explicates: "*Dharma samasatoahimsa varnayanti Tathagatah*". Thus, Ahimsa is also applicable for the preservation of Environmental Ecology in the world.

ENVIRONMENTAL ECOLOGY AND BRAHMAVIHĀRA

The Brahmavihāra is one of the most important teachings and sermons of Gautama Buddha. It is construed as the sublime ideas. The Brahmavihāra is four fold, which is enumerated as (a) *Mettā* (Friendliness), (b) *Karunā* (Compassion), (c) *Muditā* (Happiness), and (d) *Upekkhā* (Equanimity).

However, in the context of Environmental Ecology, only the *Mettā* and the *Karunā* Brahmavihāras are applicable. The Brahmavihāra has been eloquently mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya* of the *Sutta Pitaka*. The *Vatthusutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mentions as follows: [6]

"*So mettā sahagatena cetasā ekan disa phāritvā viharati, tathā dutim , tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. Sabbattatāya sabbavantam lokan mettā sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamānena averena abyapajjena phāritvā viharati. Karunā sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamānena averena abyapajjena phāritvā viharati...*"

The *Mettā*, that is to say, Friendliness is the first Brahmavihāra (Sublime Idea) of the four Brahmavihāras. It is a stepping stone for obtaining peace and harmony on the planet. The *Mettā* destroys ego and ill-will. It combines hearts of the people. It helps in achieving love and harmony for all living beings in the world. The flora and fauna also come under the ambit of living beings.

The inculcation of the *Mettā Brahmavihāra* helps in achieving the state of equality before all. It does not differentiate between human life and plant life. In this respect, Gautama Buddha exhorts in the *Metta Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* by the following:[7]

"Matā yathā niyam puttam, ayusā ekaputtamanurakkhe.
Evampi sabbabhūtesu mānasam bhāvaye aparimānam."

In this way, the *Metta Brahmavihāra* gives a sense of friendliness towards all living beings

The second Brahmavihāra is *Karuna*, that is to say, compassion. It is the key-stone of Buddhism.[8] Gautama Buddha is, therefore, referred to as the *Mahākaruniko* - the Great Compassionate.[9] It is now a well-established fact that a compassionate being cannot hurt any living beings, and plants are also living beings. Consequently, a follower of Buddhism cannot harm ecosystem and natural balance. Here also, Environmental Ecology is in agreement with the tenets of Buddhism.

PRACTICE OF ENVIRONMENTAL ECOLOGY

Environmental Ecology is in practice in the contemporary world. The Buddhist Sangha is engaged in aforestation in Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, Sri Lanka, and so on. According to the World Wide Fund for Nature, the forest cover of Northern Thailand has increased to a significant extent with the help of the Buddhist clergy as well as laity.

It is pertinent to note that the Government of India has also taken several considered measures towards Environmental Ecology. India is also adopting a broader perspective on measures to reduce the phenomenon of global warming. The Indian Prime Minister [10] has said that the Government proposes to set up a National Climate Change Mitigation Authority, which is abbreviated for NCCMA. This body would assign and monitor aspirational ecological targets to be achieved by the year 2020 towards reducing India's greenhouse gas emissions. The NCCMA's guidelines would complement or get included in the proposals spelt out in the prime Minister's National Action Plan on Climate Change, which was formulated in 2008.

Finally, Environmental Ecology is completely compatible with the teachings, sermons and discourses of Buddhism. The practice of Environmental Ecology in the paradigm of Buddhism is indispensable for the survival of human beings, animals, plants and nature in the modem times. And it is the need of the hour.

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Kumaoni sources on Rohelā invasion of AD 1743-1745

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Introduction:

Rohelkhand (U.P.) derives its name from numerous Rohelā settlements in that area. These settlements were initiated under the patronage of the Mughal emperors, particularly from Jahangir onwards, to check the Katehir Rajput insurrections. However, in course of time, subsequent to the death of Aurangzeb, when the pendulum of the Mughal power swung towards decadence, the Rohelās exerted their own, and carved out an almost independent principality under Alī Muhammad Khān (AD 1720-1748) (see for details, Hussain 1994: chs. 1-2).

In AD 1743 Alī Muhammad sent a force of ten thousand soldiers to invade Kumaon under the command of Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān with Painda (Pāyinda) Khān and Bakhshī Sirdār Khān as his chief assistant commanders. The immediate cause of this attack was to avenge the murder of one Himmata Gusāīṁ, alias Dolī Chand, who had taken refuge in the court of Alī Muhammad. It is said that the murder was committed by some assassins sent by Kalyāṇa Chandra, the then ruling chief of Kumaon (AD 1731-1747), who wanted to liquidate all of his potential rivals belonging to the ruling Chandra family of Kumaon, Himmata Gusāīṁ being one (Atkinson 1884: 585-86; Pande 1937: 318-20, 324; Hussain 1994: 51). However, there were many reasons for this attack. First, Alī Muhammad wanted to avenge the death of his foster father Dā'ūd Khān (AD 1720) who was liquidated under the orders of King Devī Chandra (AD 1720-1726), one of the predecessors of Kalyāṇa Chandra. Secondly, political conditions in the plains were extremely uncertain due to the weakening of the Mughal Empire. The Rohelās wanted to colonize Kumaon Hills as they considered it to be the most suitable nearest safe refuge in the event they were dislodged from their possessions in the Doab by any expansive power in the plains (Atkinson 1884: 588). The subsequent Marāṭhā attacks upon Delhi and Rohelkhand after Ahmad Shāh Abdālī's invasion of Delhi in AD 1757 (Hussain 1994: ch. 6) proved their apprehensions to be true. Third, the rich Terai-Bhabhar tracts of Kumaon adjoining Rohelkhand were the

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bone of contention between the Rohelās and the Kumaoni chiefs. For the Rohelās, subjugation of Kumaoni chiefs meant absolute control of the Terai-Bhabhar region. The Kumaoni court was rife with political intrigues and, in the absence of a regular army the Kumaoni chiefs had scarce means to give any significant resistance against the highly organized Rohelā forces (see, *Kalyāṇachandrodayam*). Finally, the largesse of Devī Chandra (Atkinson 1884: 580-82) may have given the impression that Kumaoni chiefs possessed fabulous wealth, a cause enough to invite the Rohelā attack.

Accounts of the Rohelā invasion of Kumaon are found in Atkinson (1884: 586-89), Pande (1937: 326-33), and Hussain (1994: 51-53). It may be noted that some of the details of Pande's account of the Rohelā war are at variance with both Atkinson and Hussain. I will eventually show that Pande relied on traditional account of Kumaoni history having a strong Brahmin bias.

The Kumaoni sources:

In recent years some interesting primary sources have been discovered which improve our knowledge of the Rohelā invasion of Kumaon considerably. These are as follows:

The *Kalyāṇachandrodayam* of Śivānanda Pāṇḍe:

It was written in the wake of Rohelā invasion. Its first three chapters give a detailed account of the Chandra kings, and their court intrigues before the advent of King Kalyāṇa Chandra. Next two chapters give a vivid description of the atrocious rule of Kalyāṇa Chandra, making local nobles desert Kumaon. These conditions attracted the Rohelā chief Alī Muhammad Khān to invade Kumaon. Hearing this news Kalyāṇa Chandra reconciled with the wronged nobility, restored their property and official positions, and prepared for the battle. The last two chapters contain graphic accounts of Kumaoni-Rohelā battle, defeat of the Rohelās; visit of Kumaoni chief Kalyāṇa Chandra to the court of *Dillīśvara* ("Lord of Dillī" = Delhi, i.e., Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shāh) to seek his support against the Rohelās in retaining the Terai-Bhabhar region; Alī Muhammad produced in chains before the Emperor; victorious Kalyāṇa Chandra returned to Almora; he received a very warm welcome from the citizens; and, finally, the king distributed awards and honours to his loyal supporters. The work is written with a strong Brahmin bias. It eulogizes Kalyāṇa Chandra and his Brahmin supporters, particularly, the author of the work, his ancestors,

and Śiva Deva Jośī -- the Prime Minister of Kalyāṇa Chandra, as if they alone liberated Kumaon from the Rohelās.

Pande's account seems to have been based on then current traditional histories, for there are two noteworthy differences between Pande's account and the *Kalyāṇachandrodayam*. Thus, Pande says that King Kalyāṇa Chandra dispatched Śiva Deva Jośī to fight the Rohelās, and the battle between the Kumaonis and the Rohelās began with the firearms followed by swords, and daggers (Pande 1937: 329). However, the *Kalyāṇachandrodayam* informs that King Kalyāṇa Chandra himself went to Bhimtal (close to Batokhar, the site of the battle) with his army (VI. 3-10). This work does not mention use of firearms by any of the sides, although it refers to various modes of fighting, such as fisticuffs, sticks, swords, daggers, spears, and bows and arrows (VI. 35). The work makes no mention of the Rohelā occupation of Kumaon, obviously it refers to the second Rohelā invasion of AD 1745, and the battle of Baḍokhaḍī (Batokhar) in which the Rohelās were defeated, and forced to flee. An interesting information gleaned from the *Kalyāṇachandrodayam* is that due to the fear of the Kumaoni forces one Aṣalādikhāna (Asalat Khān) wanted to escape from the battle. When his fellow soldiers Chaṁdakhāṁ (Chāṁda Khān) and Miyāṁkhāṁ (Miyā Khān) reproved his cowardliness, Asalat Khān committed suicide by beheading himself in shame (VI. 12-13). The identity of these soldiers remains to be established as they do not figure in the works of historians writing on the Rohelā war (Atkinson 1884; Pande 1937: 326-33; Hussain 1994).

Copper plates of the Chandra kings:

So far six copper plate grants of the Chandra kings bearing on the Rohelā invasion of Kumaon have been discovered. All of these are written in Kumaoni language and in Devanāgarī script. Two of these belong to Kalyāṇa Chandra, who was ruling Kumaon at the time of Rohelā invasion. Remaining four have been issued by his son and successor Dīpa Chandra (AD 1745-1777).

The earliest one of these plates has been issued on Thursday, the sixth day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in Śaka 1666 (AD 1744) (Negi 1990)[1]. The plate purports to record the gratitude of King Kalyāṇa Chandra to Samera Adhikārī (donee) for the latter's invaluable assistance in king's flight from Almora towards Garhwal when the Rohelās invaded Kumaon. It reads that the king was at Gheṭī (a village in *patti* Katyur Malla), and

that he had posted *thāṇādāras* (officers in charge of outposts), and other persons of consequence at Hathi Chhina (Kausani, District Almora), to keep watch on the movements of the Rohelās. However, the *thāṇādāras* fled the place on the arrival of the Rohelās. At this critical moment Samera Adhikārī came to the rescue of the king. He carried the king on his back from Gheṭī to Tuṁgeśvara, and arranged for the royal transportation. As a reward of these services Kalyāṇa Chandra awarded him *rauta* tenure of land grant, which seems to be the Kumaoni version of the *rakata-paṭā* of Oḍiyā, *rakta-paṭṭaka* of Sanskrit, and *iratta-mānya* of Tamil inscriptions (Sircar 1966: 275).

The second plate has been issued in Śaka 1667 (AD 1745) (Joshi 1984). It records the *rauta* tenure of land grant awarded to Anūpa Siṁha Taḍāgī for his loyalty at the time of the Rohelā invasion. It explicitly mentions that Anūpa Siṁha spent his own money to counter the Rohelā attack. He sent messengers everywhere, and did not let the Kumaonis ally the Rohelās, brought troops to help the king, and remained extremely loyal to the king.

The third plate belongs to King Dīpa Chandra (Negi 1993). It has also been issued in favour of Samera Adhikārī in Śaka 1669 (AD 1747). It also says that Samera Adhikārī carried the king on his back from Gheṭi to Tuṁgeśvara when the Rohelās were chasing the king. Concerning the Rohelā attack it further adds that Samera established rapport with Garhwal; spied on the Rohelā movements at Almora, and drove them out; made Paidekhāṁ (Pāyinda Khān) become friendly with the king; ... got Rohelās killed at Ghāṭa. It may be added here that during the last years of his life Kalyāṇa Chandra had become blind, and, therefore, he abdicated in favour of his son Dīpa Chandra sometime in AD 1747 (Atkinson 1884: 589; Pande 1937: 333). Kalyāṇa Chandra was still alive when the plate under reference was issued. Therefore, it records that the *Baḍa Rājā jyu* (the Elder King, i.e., Kalyāṇa Chandra) advised Dīpa Chandra to pay a visit to *Pātasāhī* (the Mughal Emperor Bahādur Shāh), for which presents were arranged. The Kumaoni chief was obliged to pay twenty-one lakhs (?) on account of the Māla (i.e., the Terai-Bhabhar region). However, the sum was reduced to two lakhs (?) after meeting Firishtā Khāṁ (Firishtāh Khān) Khojā, and thus the title of the Māla was obtained. Throughout the course of these events Samera himself performed the such services as were assigned to Mera and Kaṭhāīta communities, as well as *Gaṁgājalī* (carrying water for king's drinking and rituals). The king says: There is no limit to applaud and no limit to write the accounts

of Samera's loyal deeds, no one has ever performed such loyal deeds in the past, and no one can ever do it in future. For these feats Samera was awarded *rauta* tenure of land grant.

The fourth plate also belongs to King Dīpa Chandra. It has been issued in favour of Śiva Deva Joisī (Jośī) in Śaka 1677 (AD 1755) (Pande 1937: 345-46). The relevant information concerning the Rohelā invasion of Kumaon in this plate is that the Rohelās had occupied Kumaon, Kumaoni king's own men were allied to the Rohelās, had brought the Rohelā army to Kumaon, and crowned Amara Rautelā as king. At that time battle was fought at Golaulī. Śiva Deva Joisī brought an army from the Māla, defeated the Rohelās, and thus established the Chandra rule. At Baḍokhaḍī (Batokhar, near Bhimtal) Najīb Khāṁ, the *Jamādāra* of Alī Mahammada, had arrived with a force of four thousand Rohelās to invade Kumaon, Śiva Deva Joīsī took soldiers from the king's headquarter and annihilated the Rohelās. He also forced the Rohelās stationed at Koṭā to quit. For these and other reasons mentioned in the plate, Śiva Deva was awarded the *rauta* tenure of land grant.

The fifth copper plate (Mishra 1943) has also been issued on the same day as the previous one (i.e., fourth) with exactly the same contents. However, it is donated jointly to Harirāma Joīsī and Śiva Deva Joīsī, of course, the land granted to Harirāma being other than the one given to Śiva Deva, already mentioned in the previous plate and here it finds repetition.

The last known copper plate that refers to the Rohelā invasion of Kumaon, has also been issued by Dīpa Chandra in Śaka 1680 (AD 1758), now housed in G.B. Pant Government Museum, Almora. Among other things, it records that the Rohelās had plundered the *potho* (paraphernalia?) of the idol of king's (?) tutelary deity worth four thousand (?) from Badhāna. Śivā Kānta Tyāḍī (Tewari), the donee, went to Murādābāda and purchased the same from his own money, and brought it to the king. For this reason he was awarded the *rauta* tenure of land grant.

In the light of information supplied by the *Kalyāṇachandrodayam*, and the six copper plates of the Chandras briefly described above, the Rohelā invasion needs to be reviewed. In the discussion that follows I will briefly present my own perspective.

Ergo:

Śivānanda Pāṅḍe, the author of the *Kalyāṇachandrodayam,* claims that he himself accompanied the king to the battlefield (VI. 7), whereas, copper plates issued by King Dīpa Chandra in favour of Śiva Deva Jośī individually and jointly with Harirāma Jośī inform that these two persons took soldiers from the king's headquarter and annihilated the Rohelās. It is not clear from these plates whether the king also joined the army. Surprisingly, the *Kalyāṇachandrodayam* is silent on the occupation of Kumaon by the Rohelās. Obviously, it is biased towards Kalyāṅa Chandra and a particular section of the Brahmins, and, therefore, does not record the reverses suffered by them earlier. However, the work is interesting in that it shows as to how the Chandra court was plagued with intrigues, that there was no standing army to defend the kingdom, and that all sections of Kumaoni society, irrespective of class and caste, made it a common cause to fight the Rohelās even though they had limited arms.

The six Chandra copper plates discussed above explicitly mention the Rohelā invasion of Kumaon. However, the combined testimony of these plates reveal that Śiva Deva Jośī was not the only hero of the Rohelā War, as scholars would have us believe (e.g., Atkinson 1884: 586-88; Pande 1937: 327-30; Mishra 1980). These plates suggest that Samera Adhikārī, Harirāma Jośī, and Anūpa Siṁha Taḍāgī played very important roles in the defeat of the Rohelās. In fact, Samera Adhikārī outshines the rest, for the king himself says that his loyalty was unparalleled.

The plate of Kalyāṇa Chandra of Śaka 1666 leaves no room for doubt that by the rainy season of AD 1744 he had once again consolidated his position, hence the award of *rauta* tenure of land grant to one of his most loyal servants. According to Atkinson (1884: 587), and Pande (1937:327) Kalyāṇa Chandra went to Garhwal via Lobha, near Gairsen (across the Western Ramganga at Ganai in *patti* Giwar Talla, District Almora) in the northwestern direction. However, the plate under reference reveals that the king took a different route towards northern direction via Gheṭī (across the Gomati in Katyur Malla, District Bageshwar). The plate of Dīpa Chandra of Śaka 1669 confirms it. The last mentioned plate also informs that on the advice of Elder King, i.e., Kalyāṇa Chandra, Dīpa Chandra managed to obtain the title of the Māla from the *Pādasāhī* (the Mughal Emperor) by paying two lakhs (?) as against twenty-one lakhs. In this deed Fīrāstākhaṁ Khojā played

central role. Obviously, he must have been a trusted servant of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shāh, although his identity remains to be established. These facts remain unnoticed by the historians writing on the Rohelā invasion of Kumaon (e.g., Atkinson 1884: 586-89; Pande 1937: 326-33; Sarcar 1988: 24-33; Hussain 1994: 51-53). Even Negi who has published both of these plates does not take any notice of these important issues (Negi 1990; 1992; 1993). In fact all the plates mentioned above need detailed, critical editing.

It is indeed intriguing that Śiva Deva Jośī and Harirāma Jośī who figure so prominently in the works of historians as the main heroes of the Rohelā defeat were rewarded for their invaluable services after one full decade, and that too, not by Kalyāṇa Chandra, but by his son and successor as is evident from Dīpa Chandra's two copper plates of Śaka 1677 (AD 1755).

The last plate of Dīpa Chandra of Śaka 1680 (AD 1758) is interesting in that it refers to the plunder of the paraphernalia of the tutelary deity of the Chandras. The event took place at Badhāṇa (not far from Gheṭī, near Gwaldam, District Chamoli, Garhwal) adjacent to Katyur Malla. Most likely, king Kalyāṇa Chandra carried with him the idol and paraphernalia of his *Iṣhṭa Devatā* (tutelary deity) when he fled via Gheṭī and the Rohelās chased him - a fact also mentioned in the copper plates of Kalyāṇa Chandra (Śaka 1666), and Dīpa Chandra (Śaka 1669). Significantly, archival records belonging to the Princely State of Tehri also record that King Kalyāṇa Chandra along with his queens took refuge at Badhāṇa where, under orders of Garhwal king Pradīpa Śāha, twelve Sayānās of Lobha and Badhāṇa welcomed him (Dabral, Samvat 2044:162-63).

The Rohelā invasion of Kumaon is a landmark in its history. It was for the first time that Kumaon was occupied by a foreign, *"mlechchha"* power whose defeat formed the central theme of the *Kalyāṇachandrodayam*. The primary Kumaoni sources, especially the ones directly associated with the then contemporary rulers of Kumaon, mention both victory and ultimately defeat of the Rohelās. Secondary sources like Atkinson (1884) and Pande (1937) also supply the same information, albeit missing some important facts. Surprisingly, in his recent work Hussain (1994; 51-53) finishes his account of the Rohelā invasion abruptly after the occupation of Kumaon. Since he is the only authority to have

used a vast corpus of published and unpublished primary and secondary sources in Persian and Urdu, it is not clear whether his sources refer to the Rohelā defeat or not. Nevertheless, published primary and secondary sources referring to the defeat of the Rohelās did exist (e.g., Atkinson 1884; Pande 1937; Joshi 1984; Negi 1990; 1992; 1993) before publication of Hussain's work (1994). Fair enough, the defeat of the Rohelās did deserve a place at least in a footnote if not in the main body of Hussain's work. On contrary, Hussain believes that Srinagar (Garhwal) and Almora (Kumaon) were in the possession of Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān in AD 1768 (Hussain 1994: map on page 109), which is undoubtedly wrong.

> [T]he Rohelā chiefs were usually endowed with down-to-earth common senses, and they generally strove to look after the welfare of the people, for autocratic though their rule was, their autocracy did not necessarily degenerate into a blind tyranny over their subjects. Whatever their other faults, they succeeded in obtaining the reputation of dealing fairly with the high and low, Hindus and Muslims alike (Hussain 1994: 188).

However, the Rohelā activities in Kumaon stand in sharp contrast to their benevolent image in Rohilkhand. This is particularly true in case of Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān who was very popular in Rohilkhand as noted by Henry Elliot (Hussain 1994:.188 fn 11). He was the commander of the Rohelā army that occupied Kumaon for some six months. During this period the Rohelās defiled Hindu temples, plundered their valuables, and broke idols, in addition to oppressing Kumaonis. The ruinous temples, and broken idols in different parts of Kumaon where the Rohelās penetrated, for example, at Lakhanpur, Dwarahat, Katarmal, Bhimtal, Almora, Someśvar, Vaijnath, etc., "attest the iconoclastic proclivities of the Rohillas" (see Atkinson 1884: 587; Pande 1937: 327-28; Hussain 1994: 52).

It seems that the climatic conditions in the hills deterred the Rohelās from occupying Kumaon permanently. Therefore, they did not perform any such activity to win the support of the Kumaonis as they are reputed to have done in Rohilkhand. No wonder that in Kumaoni traditions they are much despised, and their occupation of Kumaon is remembered as the darkest phase of its history. Nevertheless, the Rohelā invasion of Kumaon created a deep impact on Kumaon which may be summed up as follows.

According to traditions Kalyāṇa Chandra was uneducated, cruel, and ill mannered, and had an extremely poor background (Atkinson 1884: 583-86; Pande 1937: 318-20). Be it as it may, he does not seem to have enjoyed confidence and loyalty of his main functionaries, otherwise he would have not been deserted when he fled Kumaon, and the Rohelās were chasing him. However, his ultimate victory over the Rohelās strengthened his position. At this juncture some of his high functionaries headed by certain Brahmins resorted to mytho-praxis to prove their loyalty to the Chandra family. Accordingly, genealogies were manufactured so as to show that the ancestors of the authors of these genealogies were the hereditary counsellors and high functionaries of the Chandras for generations, right from the time of the very founder of the Chandra dynasty -- Soma Chandra (Joshi 2011). However, recently discovered epigraphical and archival sources indicate that Soma Chandra was not a historical person (Joshi 1990; 1994; 1998).

Redistribution of honours, awards, titles, and offices, both before and after the Rohelā invasion of Kumaon, created a deep impact on Kumaoni political society. It resulted in the rise of some hitherto common folks, and fall of some older, dominant families in body politic, thereby enhancing and lowering their respective socio-political statuses.

The Chandras adopted various measures to ensure defense of Kumaon, and introduced certain offices like *Faujdāra, Ayādo-Payādo,* etc., and imposed taxes like *faujadārī, rachchyā,* etc., to maintain defense services. I have discussed these issues at length elsewhere (Joshi: forthcoming).

Notes and references:

I have used my own translation of the texts of the copper plates discussed in this essay.

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Vemaki Coins from Himachal Pradesh

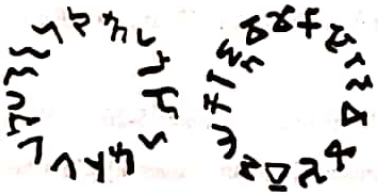
Prof. Devendra Handa*

It was during 1878-79 that Alexander Cunningham first referred to and described the silver coin of *Raja* Rudra Varma (king Rudravarman) found from Jwalamukhi in Himachal Pradesh: "One of the silver coins, now in the Lahore museum, was found in a field near Jwâla Mukhi, in company with 3 silver pieces of the Kunindas, and 28 Philopator hemi-drachms of Apollodotus".[1] He deciphered the name of the king and his family almost correctly and described the coin as follows –

Plate IV. Fig.6. Æ. 0.7. Weight —. Lahore Museum

Obv. Elephant with upraised trunk moving to r., towards trident battle-axe of Śiva; Indian legend, *Râjna Vamakisa Rudra Varmasa Vijaya*

Rev. Humped Indian Bull to r., flower under head; Arian legend, *Rajna Vamakisa Rudra Varmasa Vijayata*



(Pl. I.1)

Not realizing the true import of the word '*Vamakisa*', Cunningham wrongly regarded Rudravarman as a scion of the Audumbaras whose coins too showed the elephant and the trident-battleaxe.[2] The coin has also been discussed by Bergny[3], Rapson[4], and Whitehead[5], who all followed Cunningham. R.D. Banerji, however, doubted the connection of Rudravarman with the Audumbaras.[6] S.K. Chakrabortty regarded the Vimakas as a separate tribe but observed that "There seems to be some relationship between the Vimakas and the Audumbaras; perhaps they were neighbours".[7] A.C. Banerji also treated Rudravarman as belonging to a separate tribe than the Audumbaras.[8] Allan was aware of the view of R.D. Banerji but he followed Cunningham in grouping the coin of Rudravarman with those of the Audumbaras though he was probably doubtful of this

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attribution.[9] Allan, however, rightly read the marginal Prākrit legend on the two sides as '*Vijayaya-rañña Vemakisa Rudravarmasa*' in Kharoshtī and '*Vijayaka-rajñ[o] Vemakisa Rudravarmasa*' in Brāhmī, and observed that "The Kharoshtī legend also shows that the word before the king's name is Vemaki (for Vaimaki, like Oduṃbara for Auduṃbara). The legend means 'of the victorious king Rudravarman the Vimaki', the latter being an otherwise unknown family of the Audumbaras".[10]

The credit of finding literary references to the identity of Rudravarman of the coin, however, goes to R.C. Kar[11] who pointed out that he belonged to the Vaimaki clan which could be identified with the Vaimakas of a text ascribed to an early astronomer named Parāśara[12] in Utpala's commentary on Varāhamihira's Bṛihatsaṃhitā and the Vaiyāmakas of the Mahābhārata (II.48, 12). The *Mbh.* refers to the Vaiyāmakas along with some other tribes –

Kāyavyā Daradā Dārvāh śūrā Vaiyāmakāstathā /
Audumbarā durvibhāgāḥ Pāradā Bāhlikaiḥ saha //

The correct form of the dynastic name as read on the coin is Vemaki which stands for the Sanskrit Vaimaki derived from the name Vimaki. In Sanskrit the word *vemaka* means 'a weaver'. The word also occurs as the proper name of a sage whose wife, according to a tradition recorded in the Harivaṃśa (III.1, 14-15) and Brahma Purāṇa (XIII.136-37), brought up the Kaurava king Ajapārśva, the great-grandson of Janamejaya Pārikshit. The variant reading Remaka is met with in some of the manuscripts of the Brahma Purāṇa.[13] The Mahāmāyūrī also refers to a people named Vairāmaka.[14] It is, however, certain that these are the wrong versions of the name as we know from the coin that Vemaka is the correct form. Sircar states that "It seems therefore that the family or clan name *Vaimaki* is derived not from the name *Vimaki*, but from *Vemaka* through the intermediate form *Vaimaka* just as the clan name *Audumbari* is derived from *Udumbara* through the intermediate form *Audumbara*".[15] The Vaimaka of Parāśara and Vaiyāmaka of the *Mbh.* may be derived from Vemaka and Vyāmaka and though Vaimakas and Vaiyāmakas seem to refer to the same people it is difficult to say whether Vemaka bore the name Vyāmaka also or the Vaimakas and Vaiyāmaka traced their descent from two distinct persons bearing the name of Vemaka and Vyāmaka.

The Legends

As noted above, various scholars have deciphered the legends in Kharoshtī and Brāhmī differently. Cunningham's reading of the title in Kharoshtī as *Rajna* has been accepted by Whitehead though it is clearly *raña*. The title in Brāhmī is certainly Rājñ[o] Cunningham read the last word of the legend as *vijaya* in Brāhmī and vijayata in Kharoshtī. Whitehead and Banerji followed Cunningham and accepted *vijayata*. Allan observed that "In the text (p. 125) I had adopted the reading *vijayata* given by Cunningham, Rapson, and others for the word in the exergue in Kharoshtī. There is no doubt, however, that the word is *vijayaya*, a Prākrit equivalent of *vijayaka* which, and not *vijaya*, is the correct reading of corresponding word in the Brāhmī inscription where it begins the legend. It is an adjective meaning 'victorious'."[16] Sircar[17] again reverted to the old reading *vijayata* (or vijayato < vijayataḥ) which was accepted by Bela Lahiri also.[18] Similarly opinions differ regarding the correct form of Vamaka or Vemaka. Some better specimens, as we shall see subsequently, have resolved these controversies and we can say that the legend may be read correctly as *Raña Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vijayaya* in Kharoshtī and Rājñ[o] Vemakisa Rudravarmasa Vijayaka in Brāhmī. The legend means "(Coin) of the Vemaki King Rudravarman, the conqueror".

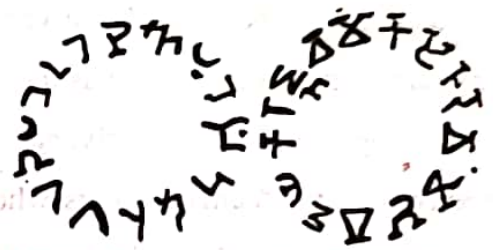
Another Silver Coin of Rudravarman

The above-mentioned silver coin of the Lahore Museum with its electrotype in the British Museum was the only silver coin of Rudravarman definitely attributable to the Vemaka tribe for a long period of about a century since its first publication by Cunningham in 1878-79 and later in 1891. After more than a century another specimen was published by me in 1992[19] from the collection of Mr. Jan Lingen, the well-known Dutch numismatist of Bergambacht and an ardent collector of Indian coins, who graciously sent me the photographs and details of this coin –

AR, round, 16.5 mm, 2.5302 g

Obv. Humped bull to right, lotus in front, wavy line below; marginal Kharoshtī legend from 4 to about 8 o' clock *Raña Vamakisa Rudravarmasa* and *vijayaya* below in the exergue

Rev. Elephant to right with trunk upraised, trident-axe on right under his tusks, almost a straight line below the elephant, Brāhmī legend around from about 9 o' clock position R[ā]jñ[o] V[e]mak[i]sa Rudravarmasa V[i]jayaka



(Pl. I.2)

This coin helps us rectify some of the observations of the earlier scholars and corroborate some others. The Kharoshtī legend on this coin clearly shows the word in the exergue to be *vijayaya* whereas it's Brāhmī version is very clearly *vijayaka* and not *vijayata* as held by some of the earlier scholars. It is almost exactly similar to the Lahore Museum coin but struck from different dies. A.N. Lahiri states that Rudravarman's Lahore Museum coin was 'struck by the sophisticated hammer-and-anvil process' on coin blanks conforming to the size of the neatly and carefully cut dies.[20] Now for the first time we have the weight of Rudravarman's coin which is approximately 2.53 g (21.3 rattīs), conforming to the hemidrachm of the Persian standard of 2.59 g or 40 grains. Bela Lahiri[21] and A.N. Lahiri[22] hold that Vemaka coins were modeled on the 20- rattī Indian drachm of the Indo-Greeks and bear a close resemblance to the Elephant-Bull type round silver pieces of Apollodotus I Soter.

Subsidiary Symbols

The occurrence of the straight line beneath the elephant and the wavy line below the bull were first pointed out by Nisar Ahmad.[23] He regarded the straight line below the elephant as pedestal but it may as well be a road or a track. The wavy line may represent riverside. The symbol shown under the mouth of the bull was identified by Cunningham as a flower.[24] Chakrabortty, however, felt that it has a great similarity with the symbol on the reverse of the silver Vṛishṇi coin and, therefore, took it as a *chakra* or discus.[25] A.C. Banerji, though acquainted with the work of Chakrabortty, described it as a flower.[26] Allan[27], Kar[28], Bela Lahiri[29] and A.M. Shastri[30] consider the symbol to be a lotus. Nisar Ahmad observes that "This symbol resembles that represented at the same place on the

reverse of the silver coins of Mahādeva, though on the latter it appears to have been conventionalized gradually. It may be taken as a *Chakra* on the analogy of the Vṛishṇi-coin, but if we take into account of (sic.) the symbol found on all the coin (sic.) of both the kings – Rudravarman and Mahādeva, its proper identification seems to be the lotus flower".[31] We feel that the symbol on the Vṛishṇi silver coin is certainly *Chakra* (commonly identified as Sudarśana Chakra), which was the insignia of the tribe, but the symbol on Rudravarman's coin, though depicted similarly, cannot be taken as a discus as it goes against the religious proclivity of the Vemaka rulers who bear Śaivite names as we shall see subsequently. The symbol, therefore, should be accepted as a lotus.

There has been some confusion about the obverse and reverse sides of the coin also. Cunningham, Allan and most other scholars have taken the Bull side with Kharoshtī legend as the obverse whereas some other scholars consider the Elephant side with Brāhmī legend to be more important and regard that side as the obverse. Western scholars generally follow the convention of taking the side with Kharoshtī legend as the obverse. Since both the sides carry the same legend, they are equally important and it is the personal viewpoint which considers a particular side to be more important.

Silver Coin of Bhavavarman – A New Vemaka Ruler

Around the beginning of the last decade of the last century, Dilip Rajgor kindly sent to me a few photographs of the tribal coins. The photographs showed only single sides of the coins. One of these showed fifteen (silver) coins of the Kuṇindas and another showed fourteen coins of 'Mahādeva' type (depicting the humped bull with a flower in front and the Kharoshtī legend Bhagavata Mahadevasa Rajaraña on the obverse and elephant with trident-axe and the Brāhmī legend Bhagavata Mahadevasa rājarāja on the reverse) and the bull side of a Vemaka coin with Kharoshtī legend.[32] Subsequently, I could procure through the courtesy of Robert C. Senior (Somerset) and Robert Tye (South Uist) a zerox copy and a beautiful photograph of the two sides of this coin, which helped in its proper identification and description.[33] The round silver coin of approximately 18 mm diameter may be described as following –

Obv. Humped bull to right depicted dynamically with a lotus flower in front and a wavy line below. Kharoshtī legend around from about 4 o' clock Raña Va(e)makisa Bhavavarmasa and vijayaya below in the exergue.

Rev. A tusked elephant to right on a straight line holding a parasol in its upraised trunk, trident-axe rising from a base shaped like a pūrṇa-ghaa or stūpik[1] (vase with foliage or pitcher-like finial of a religious edifice), probably placed on a platform in front, and Brāhmī legend from 10 to 9 o' clock around Rājñ[o] Vemakisa Bhavava[r]masa Vijayaka.

(Pl. I.3)

The coin belongs to a hitherto unknown Vemaka ruler. The depiction of the humped bull in a dynamic posture, trident-axe placed in a pūrṇa-ghaa or stūpikā[1] finial and the elephant holding a parasol in its upraised trunk reveal a step forward in the art of die-cutting. Bhavavarman, thus, seems to have followed Rudravarman. He made the innovations keeping the basic features of Vemaka coinage intact. The legends on the two sides are so clearly that all earlier doubts to the reading of the different words are allayed.

The coin also vouches that the Vemakis followed the same style and pattern and put the legends similarly. The only difference is in the name of the rulers. It is, however, interesting to note that Bhavavarman has also used the epithet *vijayaka* like Rudravarman. He too may have achieved some conquest like his predecessor. It is difficult in the present state of our knowledge whether the former was the son of Rudravarman or was elected by the tribe to be his successor.

The Vemaka rulers, like those of the Audumbaras, bore Śaivite names and their faith is further by the depiction of the bull on the obverse and trident-axe on the reverse of their coins. Bhavavarman's coin, however, reveals the sanctity of the trident-axe by showing it placed on a pūrṇa-ghaa or stūpikā finial. This coin also provides the irrefutable evidence of the object held in the trunk of the elephant to be a parasol, adorned with a fillet, which the elephant seems to be going to offer to the god Śiva symbolized by the trident-axe. The elephant itself may have also symbolized the king who offered a golden parasol to the deity in a magnificent shrine built by him or an already existing old one.

All these Vemaka silver coins differ typologically from the definitely attributable Audumbara silver coins of Dharaghosha and are uniform in style, which is very much akin to those of the Mahādeva type silver coins.

Bela Lahiri had observed that Rudravarman's silver coin (which was the only Vemaka coin known to her and till then) "recalls the very common Elephant-Bull (Indian) drachms of the Indo-Greek ruler Apollodotus and betrays the influence of the Indo-Greek coinage not only in the devices but also in fabric, weight standard and in the use of silver and the Kharoshtī script ".[34] Since the coins of Apollodotus do not show the elephant with trunk upraised, and as it exists on the coins of Indo-Scythic king Maues, and also as the latter show a symbol below the mouth of the bull on the reverse, Nisar Ahmad[35] feels that the coins of Rudravarman bear more influence of the Indo-Scythians than the Indo-Greeks. But it is difficult to agree to him since the coins of Maues show only the head of the elephant with upraised trunk and not the full elephant and are of different shape, size and fabric. The weight of Jan Lingen's coin, which still happens to be the only coin with recorded weight, conforms to the Persian weight standard as noted above.

Nisar Ahmad[36] has raised objection to Jwâlâmukhī being the provenance of Rudravarman's silver coin as noted by Cunningham. Cunningham had stated that "The coins of the *Odumbaras* consist of 2 silver hemi-drachms and 5 small square copper

pieces. One of the silver coins, now in the Lahore museum, was found in a field near Jwâla Mukhi, in company with 3 silver pieces of the Kunindas, and 28 Phlopator hemi-drachms of Apollodotus."[37] Nisar Ahmad states that "By two silver coins he certainly means the silver coins of Dharaghosha, because only of this chief, amongst the coin issuers, listed under the Odumbara by Cunningham, two silver coins are known – one was in the possession of Cunningham and the other belonged to the Lahore Museum".[38] But Cunningham has specifically stated that "My silver coin was obtained in the Pathânkot district, and my 7 copper coins were all found in Pathânkot itself. As they bear the name of *Odumbara*, their assignment is quite certain. Their age may also be assigned, with some certainty, to the time of Apollodotos, or about 100 B.C."[39] The angular forms of letters, triangular bases of *va* and *ma*, and small serif-marks on the letters indicate a first century BCE/CE date[40] rather than the second century BCE as believed by some scholars.[41]

Vemaki Copper Coins

Allan had listed under 'Uncertain Coins' from the Indian Museum collection a square copper coin of bull-elephant type which had been described by Rodgers in his MS notes as an unpublished coin of Hermaeus. Allan described it as follows[42]:

(1) Æ, Square, .55 (1.4 cm), 31.5 grains (2.04 g or approximately 17.5 *ratti*)

Obv. Elephant r., *nandipada* behind, Brahmi legend 𑀯𑀫𑀓[- -]𑀧𑀧𑀲

Vamaka[- -]*papasa*

Rev. Bull l., *nandipada* (𑁿) and *svastika* (卐) above

(Pl. I.4)

Allan observed that 'The Brāhmī legend is very uncertain. It seems possible to read Rāja (this may, however, be a *nandipada*) V mak[-] [-]napapasa . . .' He rightly restored the first word as Vemaka and linked this coin with Rudravarman and the Audumbaras noting that 'The coin came from the Panjab, probably from the Hoshiarpur district, and belongs to the first century B.C.'[43] Chintamani Kar[44] corrected Allan's reading to *Vemaka janapadasa*, which was accepted by Dasgupta[45] and Bela Lahiri[46] also but P.L. Gupta[47] preferred to read *Vemaka*(*sa*) *janapadasa* which he thought was incorrectly engraved as *papadasa* on this coin. Nisar Ahmad[48] preferred to read Vemakiśa janapada(sa) whereas Mitchiner[49] restored the legend as *Rajño Vemakisa* . . . and noted traces of Kharoshtī

legend on the bull side. Allan drew the eye-copy of the last part of the legend as 𑀲𑀯𑀲 as he could not decipher the legend satisfactorily. The first of these letters seems to have lost the middle vertical stroke and the next the horizontal stroke in wear and tear. Bringing to light another coin of this type from a private collection I read the legend as Vemak(i)sa Śivaghoshasa and described the coin as following[50] –

(2) Æ, Rectangular, 1.5 X 1.2-1.0 cm, 2.07 g

Obv. Elephant to right with trunk upraised, (holding) a flower of dots above the head, only the three prongs of the trident-axe visible below the tusk, traces of a symbol (probably inverted *nandipada* with triangular base looking like Kharoshtī Siva-), Brāhmī legend on the left margin Vemak(i)sa, Śivagh(o)shasa on the top.

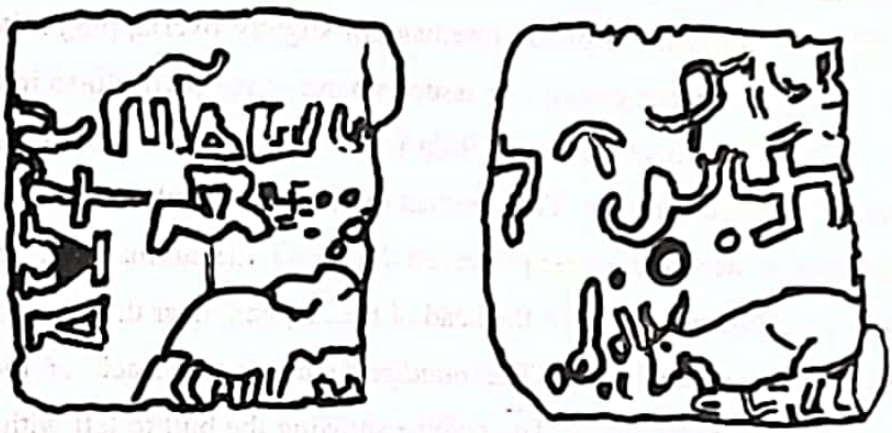
Rev. Humped bull to left, *nandipada* above the hump and a *svastika* above the back, flower of dots below the face of the bull.

(Pl. I.5)

The extreme rarity of Vemaka/Vemaki silver and copper specie may be judged from the fact that only one silver coin of Rudravarman brought to light by Cunningham[51] and the single copper coin listed by Allan in his Catalogue were known for more than a hundred years till I published the second Vemaka silver coin of Rudravarman and another of Bhavavarman, and one copper coin referred to above, a few years back.[52] The coins published by me have added substantially to our knowledge about the Vemakis. Recently some more copper coins of Śivaghosha have come to my notice but most of them are in a very indifferent state of preservation. I have picked up the best three specimens which are described and discussed here.[53] The size of these coins varies from 1.3 to 1.5 cm and the

weight between 1.94 and 2.12 g. They thus all belong to the 20-rattī weight standard equivalent to the Pāda-kārshapāṇas.

(3) Æ, Square, 1.3 x 1.4 cm, 1.94 g



(Pl. I.6)

This coin is in an indifferent state of preservation. The die-impression on the obverse leaves the upper part blank and the elephant appears partially on the lower right corner. The dotted flower above the head of the elephant too is only partially accommodated. The inverted *nandipada* above the back of the animal, however, has come out clearly. Traces of the upper part of a trident may be seen between the forelegs and trunk of the elephant. The Brāhmī legend placed perpendicularly along the left margin from bottom upwards reading *Raja* (Rājño) *Vemakisa* and continuing on the top as Śivagh(o)sha[sa*] however, may be made out without any doubt. The reverse has suffered some damage and also looks more worn out. As on the obverse the die impression leaves the upper part of the flan as blank and the bull to left has lost its legs for being out of flan. The bold *nandipada* above the back of the bull and the *svastika* to its right have survived only partially. Traces of some Kharoshtī letters may be seen along the right and top margins the last two letters of the legend ending in 'shasa' being very clear at the top left corner. Both the obverse and reverse impressions indicate that the coin has not been struck carefully.

(4) Æ, Square, 1.4 x 1.5 cm, 1.97 g

(Pl. I.7)

This coin resembles the British Museum specimen with the obverse impression coming out very clearly. The word *Vemaki* with the genitive singular suffix *sa* constricted on the top along the left margin is preceded by *Raja* and all the letters of this line are quite bold and well-impressed. The deep incuse mark on this side indicates the heavy impact of the hammer while the opposite right hand side seems to have lost the force of the blow almost completely. The first sibilant (*ī*) of top line has got slightly overlapping with *sa* of the preceding *Vemakisa*. The letter *gha* of (the issuer's name) Śivagh(o)shasa in the top line is, however, quite clear. The whole legend Raja [=Rājño] Vemakisa/Śivaghoshasamay thus be made out quite satisfactorily. The elephant to right with trunk raised above the head holding the dotted flower is the best-preserved figure of the animal met with on any Vemaki copper coin. The trident below the head of the elephant near the lower right corner may be seen with its vertical shaft. The *nandipada* above the back of the elephant, however, has come out only partially. The reverse showing the bull to left with *nandipada* and *svastika* above its back and dotted flower below the head is preserved quite clearly though the die-impression is not as deep as on the obverse. There are traces of Kharoshtī letters along the right and top margin and the last three letters in the top left corner reading *ghoshasa* confirm the name of the issuer.

(5) Æ, Rectangular, 1.3 X 1.4 cm, 2.12 g

(Pl. I.8)

This piece shows on the obverse the elephant in profile as usual to right with trunk raised up. Its back, however, looks like the domed back of a tortoise. The trident below the upraised trunk is the best preserved on this coin though it has suffered badly from corrosion and lost details of the legend. Between the fore and hind legs there seems to have been a small symbol looking like a *nandipada*. The legend, however, varies slightly and is interesting. As on other coins it starts from the bottom left corner and the first three visible letters read *Raya Ve . . .* Of the letters in the top row traces of Śivaghoshasa remain though not very distinctly. That the coin belongs to Śivaghosha is evident from the Kharoshtī legend reading Śivagh(o)shasa on the top of the reverse which carries as usual the humped bull to left with *nandipada* and *svastika* above its back. Traces of Kharoshtī letters along the right margin may be presumed to have read (*rañña*) *Vemakisa* of which the last two letters (*kisa*) are still visible. With *Rañña* in stead of R(ā)j(ño)

Ve(makisa Śivaghoshasa) on the obverse and well preserved Śivaghoshasa in Kharoshtī on the reverse this coin seems to have been issued in the beginning of Śivaghosha's reign. Like Rudravarman and Bhavavarman, he did not issue silver coins (none has come to light as yet) nor did he use the title *Vijayaka* 'victor' like them and may have been the last ruler of the tribe to issue coins during the later half of the first century BCE or the beginning of the first century CE. Like his predecessor he used the title of *Raya* (*raña*) or Rājā 'king' only and the coins under discussion leave little doubt that this title occurs in the beginning of the legend just like the silver coins of Rudravarman and Bhavavarman. Dasgupta's observation that the British Museum copper Vemaka coin does not bear any Kharoshtī legend gets reversed by the evidence of Śivaghosha's copper coins published here.

Palaeographic differences are also noticeable in these coins. The syllable *Ve* has been transcribed as (Pl. I.4 & 7), (Pl. I.8) and (Pl. I.5-6) while *Ma* shows variations like (Pl.I.4), (Pl.I.5), (Pl. I.6) and (Pl.I.7). These variations indicate different die-engravers at different times. In some cases the letter *Ka* is elongated (Pl. I.5-6).

All these coins have been struck from different dies. The cracks appearing on the edges of all the coins indicate that the planchets were not heated sufficiently enough before being struck. The first two coins (Pl. I.5-6) have got bluish-black patina while the remaining two (Pl. I.7-8) show yellowish red encrustation. The metal composition may have differed and the exactness can only be determined by assaying them. The round shape adopted for the silver coins and square shape for the copper specie recalls similar practice adopted by the Audumbaras in whose neighborhood they may have lived in the hills of Kangra-Jwalamukhi region of Himachal Pradesh.

Notes and References

1. Alexander Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1891 (reprinted Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1963) (henceforth *CAI*), p. 67. See also Cunningham, *Archaelogical Survey Report*, Vol. XIV, p. 134.
2. *Ibid*, p. 68.
3. A.V. Bergny (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, p. 419) read the obverse legend as *Rajña Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vi. . . ..*
4. *Ibid*, p. 429, fn.2.

5. R.B. Whitehead (*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1914, p. 167, no. 137, Pl. XVI) deciphered the obverse legend as *Rajña Vamakisa Rudravarmasa Vijayata*.
6. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1914, New Series, XXIII, p. 248. R.D. Banerji read the obverse legend as Rājña *Vamakisa Rudravarmasa Vijayata*.
7. S.K. Chakrabortty, *Studies in Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Mymensingh, 1931(*AIN*), pp. 214-15.
8. A.C. Banerji, "So-called 'tribal coinages' of Northern India", *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna, XX (1934), p. 176.
9. John Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India* [in the British Museum], London, 1936 (*BMCAI*), pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi & 125, Pl. XIV.13.
10. *Ibid*, p. lxxxvi.
11. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XX, pp. 59 ff. Kar's attribution is now generally accepted by scholars: D.C. Sircar (*Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi: MLBD, 1964, pp. 208-11), Ajay Mitra Shastri (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXVI, ii, pp. 160-61), P.L. Gupta (*Coins*, New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1968, pp. 36-37 and *Numismatic History of Himachal Pradeshand the catalogue of coins in the Himachal State Museum, Shimla and Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba*, New Delhi: B.R. Publications, 1988 (*NHHP*), pp. 18-20), Nisar Ahmad (*JNSI*, XXXIV, ii, pp. 176-88), M.K. Sharan (*Tribal Coins – A Study*, New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1972, pp. 250 ff.), K.K. Dasgupta (*A Tribal History of Ancient India – A Numismatic Approach*, Calcutta: Nababharat Publishers, 1974, pp. 183 ff.), Bela Lahiri (*JNSI*, XXX, pp. 61 ff. and *Indigenous States of Northern India*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1974, pp. 255-59), Michael Mitchiner (*Indo-Greek and Indo-Sythian Coins*, London: Hawkins, 1977, Vol. 7, p. 630, Type 926), etc.
12. Cf. atha prāg-uttarasyāṃ Kaulūta-Brahmaputra-Kuṇinda-Divādina-Pārata-Nasharājya-Vanarāshra-Vaimak-Ainabhalla-Siṃhapurà-Chāmara-Taṅgaṇa-Sāryaka-Parvataka-Kāśmīra-Darada-Darvābhimu(sā)ra-Jaāsura-Paola-Saírindhra-Kuchintana-Kirāta-Paśupāla-Chīna-Suvarṇabhūmi-devasthala-devodyānāni.
13. As referred to by Sircar (*SIC*, p. 209, fn. 5).
14. *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, pp. 43 & 94. See also *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XV (ii), pp. 28 & 42.
15. *SIC*, pp. 209-10.
16. *BMCAI*, pp. lxxxv-vi.
17. *SIC*, p. 210.
18. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 62. See also *JNSI*, XXXIV, pp. 176-88.
19. *Indian Coin Society Newsletter*, No. 15 (July 1992), p. 1. P.L. Gupta was aware of this coin and referred to it in 1988 (*NHHP*, p. 18).
20. Lallanji Gopal *et al* (eds.), *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India (C. 200 B.C. to 400 A.D.)*, Varanasi: Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, 1977 (*SP*), p. 79.
21. *Ibid*, p. 35.
22. *Ibid*, pp. 78-79.
23. *JNSI*, XXXIV, p. 177.
24. *CAI*, p. 68.
25. *AIN*, p. 215.
26. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XX, p. 170.
27. *BMCAI*, p. 125.
28. *IHQ*, XX, p. 59.
29. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 62.
30. *Ibid*, XXXI (i), p. 15.
31. *Ibid*, XXXIV, p. 177.
32. On the basis of the Kharoshtī legend, I published a note on this coin as "A New Vemaki Silver Coin of King Bhavadharman" in *Spink Numismatic Circular*, Volume C, Number 6

(July 1992), pp. 192-93 but was able to read the name correctly as Bhavavarman from the Brāhmī legend.

33. Devendra Handa, "New Vemaki Silver Coins", *Spink Numismatic Circular*, Vol. CI, Number 6 (July 1993), p. 187.
34. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 62.
35. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 184-85.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *CAI*, p. 67.
38. *JNSI*, XXX, P. 185.
39. *CAI*, p. 67.
40. Cp. A.N. Lahiri, *SP*, p. 79.
41. Mitchiner, *IGISC*, Vol. 7, p. 630. Sircar (*SIC*, p. 357), however, assigned *circa* second century CE date to Rudravarman's coin which seems to be too late a date for him.
42. *BMCAI* p. 280, no. 9.
43. *Ibid*, p. cliv.
44. *IHQ*, XX, p. 62, fn. 14.
45. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 184. Taking a clue from Allan's description perhaps, he observed that "The coin does not bear any Kharosh-hī legend and hence the side with the Brāhmī legend has been taken as obverse."
46. Bela Lahiri, 'Typology of the Tribal Coins', in *SP*, p. 35.
47. *NHHP*, p. 18.
48. *JNSI*, XXXIV (ii), p. 187.
49. Mitchiner, *IGISC*, p. 631, Type 927.
50. Devendra Handa, *Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2007, p. 134, Pl. XXXIV.5 & 5a.
51. *CAI*, p. 68, Pl. IV, Fig. 6.
52. See for details Handa, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-34, Pl. XXXIV.2-3 & 5-5a.
53. The new copper coins published here belong to the collection of Shri R.K. Aggarwal of Ambala City, Haryana (India) which I examined personally some time back. I am thankful to him for furnishing their scans.

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Gaddi Domestic Architecture

Dr. O. C. Handa*

Before we review the traditional domestic architecture of the Gaddis, let us have a feel of the terrain where they live. The enchanting homeland of the Gaddis deep in the Ravi Valley of Chamba is traditionally called the Gadderan. It is one of the most rugged mountainous terrains of the western Himalayan region. I first visited this romantic land and its principal village Brahmaur (average height 2135 metres above MSL) about fifty-five years ago. Brahmaur of that age was a calm and sleepy village, unmindful of its glorious past and the magnificent wooden and stone temples of the hoary past, when this village basked in the glory of being the capital town of Brahmpur kingdom. With its age-old wooden houses, raised multi-storied on the *thatharas* and *farque* walls, one could feel the nostalgic ambience that pervaded all over the locality. That effect was heightened manifold by the curly smoke that rose from the dwellings and mingled with the hovering orange and grey clouds against the glittering snow on the distant horizon.

I had to trek for more than 60 kilometres from Chamba to reach Brahmaur at that time, because the road that existed at that time was no better than a widened footpath. Seeing that road, I could well understand why a warning in the buses that "*sawari apane jan-mal ki khud zimewar hogi,*" i.e., passenger shall himself be responsible for his life and luggage, was written in the rackety buses of those days. At Brahmaur, the writ of Naga Baba, the spiritual and temporal guru of the Gaddis, ran large. He had settled in one of the old buildings beside the legendary Chaurasi

* 11, Shiwalik Bhawan, Sanjauli, Shimla-6

Complex. So powerful was his influence over the Gaddis that no outsider could get a shelter in Brahmaur without his express approval. Therefore, I also had to report to him and seek his 'grace' for my mission.

The scenario is now completely transformed. Naga Baba is no more there. His framed picture is placed where he normally used to sit. Brahmaur now is a sub-divisional headquarters and a town of sort, with quasi-cosmopolitan character, duly linked by a 62 kilometres long reasonably all weather vehicular road. The village has literally spilled over its seams, with the stereotyped clumsy concrete structures popping up randomly everywhere, dwarfing the ancient Mani Mahesh temple, the landmark of Brahmaur, and the might *deodar* trees around. Brahmaur and the entire Gadderan area has been reaping the benefits of 'scheduled tribal' status and economic development in many ways, but the Gaddis are oblivious of what they have lost by way of moral, cultural and environmental degradation. The Gaddis seem to have lost their identity as an indigenous community: the cultural erosion is so fast that in a few years' time this colourful community, with its hoary past, colourful costumes, rich folklore, may soon become unidentifiable among the multitude of common folks. Remaining behind shall be the monumental material relics – the old houses and temples, for the posterity to dig for the lost culture. With this brief introduction, now we come to the traditional houses and the related traditional knowledge-system.

The traditional Gaddi house is literally a primitive and rustic structure that reflects their transhumant psychology. Their one-room multipurpose dwelling-area for each household on each floor in a multi-storeyed house clearly reflects the manner, in which a house is raised largely by community participation, and the way it is put to

use. Ironically, against such residential structures, the wooden and stone temples of Gadderan area are among the finest and the ancient-most examples of the classical architecture in the entire Himalayan region. Surely, the architects of these magnificent wooden temples could not have been the Gaddis or their ancestors, but the outsiders from Kashmir and the Gangetic plain.

The Gadderan is a rugged and rocky terrain, where the houses are huddled together in the clustered formation on the flatter locations. Under the constraints of rugged topography, most of the villages have residential houses built in the linear formation along the contours. These houses, connected by the tortuous flagstone paved muddy and filthy lanes normally face the valley. In larger villages, the houses of higher castes are clustered together separately from the houses of the lower castes. Each house in the Gadderan has a neatly paved *khalyan* (thrashing-yard) enclosed by a parapet wall.

The houses in Gadderan area, with only a few rare exceptions, are multi-storeyed, having two or more storeys under the stark paucity of level site. These form a class by themselves for certain quintessential architectural and constructional features, not found elsewhere. For instance, use of wood in the construction of *thathara*-type walls is far less than for the *katth-kuni* (timber-bonded wall), common elsewhere. Similarly, the provision of an independent cooking place on each floor, so common here, is unknown elsewhere.

One of the significant features of house construction here is that no unskilled labour is employed from outside the community and the local skilled carpenter can be of any caste, he may even be a Brahman (Singh 1961a. 50), possibly because, he earns

more as carpenter than by his hereditary occupation. The absence of hereditary professional caste of *tarkhan* in the Gadderan territory may indicate that enough work for the professional carpenters has not been available here, and anyone may adopt it as a supplementary vocation. Entire building work is accomplished through the *kwer* or *saret* (customary community participation) under the traditional *bartandari* system.

Timber for building construction has been amply available here locally, but good structural stone is rare, except for the mica-laden slate schist, which is unsuitable for structural purpose. However, the Gaddis have devised an ingenious way of using it for structural purpose. They use these stones in a typical manner in the (*thathara*), a box-like wooden structural pillars. It is made of the roughly and thick wooden planks.

As elsewhere, three ceremonies are performed here during the construction, but in a different manner: First, for laying foundation and deciding the orientation of *dwari* (main entrance), a *chela* (an oracle) consults *Bastu Sarani* (the traditional *Vastu Vidya*). A goat is sacrificed on that occasion. Secondly, a goat is sacrificed when the *baranda* (ridgepole) is placed. The entrails goat are suspending from the *baranda*. Third and last ceremony is the *nawala*, when many goats are sacrificed for community feasting. The term *nawala* may be a derivative from the classical word *nav-alay*, i.e., a new house (Singh 1961a. 15). However, it is also regarded to mean *nav-mala*, i.e., a new garland (Singh 1961b. 52).

A traditional way of laying foundation is very simple. The foundation is rarely deeper than thirty centimetres even for a multi-storeyed house, despite the fact that it has to withstand high wind pressure, heavy snowstorms and tremors. Large stone slabs are well packed in the foundation until the fill reaches a few centimetres above the surrounding ground level. That time-tested but casual style of preparing

foundation is typical to the Gadderan territory. In fact, the old buildings built in the traditional style with such flexible foundations have withstood many tremors and vagaries of nature, against the modern cemented buildings.

On the foundation, *thatharas* (box-like pillars) are erected to form a grid. For making a *thathara*, thick wooden planks, called *thathars* are placed on edge on the two sides with a gap of about 40 centimetres that defines the thickness of wall. Over it, the same arrangement is repeated, but *thatharas* are now placed across. That process is repeated until the proposed height is attained. Thus, a space is formed within the *thathara*, which is filled with the hand-packed stones. The *thatharas* are connected with each other by the horizontal planks, called *chewels*, spaced vertically apart. The intervening space is packed with dry irregular stone pieces. Later, the exposed faces of walls are treated with mud and cow-dung plaster. People also use locally available grey coloured *chik* (clay). At times, the gaps between the *thatharas* are covered with the wooden planks instead of the wall of dry stones. Such curtain wall is called *farque*. Sometimes, *dhajji* wall (battened and braced wall of packed stone chips) is also provided between the *thatharas*. The *farque* and *dhajji* walls are generally preferred for the upper stories only.

The *thathara*-technique is used for the residential houses only. No such type of wall is made for temples. However, I have seen some wooden temples of Nag in the Chandrabhaga Valley, where such walls have been made (Handa 2004. 185). Although, such walls are fragile as compared to the *katth-kuni* wall, but being lightweight, these are lighter on the foundation. This type of walls has been common

in the Gadderan area and in parts of Kashmir Valley. Many old houses built in that manner may still be seen at many places, but are now not much favoured.

Now coming to the flooring arrangement, the flooring of *obra* (ground floor) is usually of the rough flat stones. At times, gaps between the stones are filled with mud and cow-dung mixture. All the upper floors are made by spanning beams and joists on the walls, over which wooden planks are laid. For larger span, a *thumbi* (a wooden post) may be provided in the middle. Normally, no other flooring treatment is done, but in some cases, a thick layer of mud and cow-dung mixture made in *gyontra* (the urine of cow) is applied over the wooden planks. It is believed that the *gyontra* acts as a strong disinfesting agent.

The roofing arrangement is a simple affair, for the Gaddis do not have any idea of fabricating trusses. They employ the age-old method of supporting the *nhas* (rafters) on the *kanaran* (wall plates) on the sides and the *baranda*. Over the *nhas*, the *thathsari* (thick wooden roofing-planks) are laid. Over these roofing-planks, thick slates of irregular sizes are nailed. The roof is projected considerably beyond the supports to protect the exterior of building from the direct effect of snow and rain.

A traditional Gaddi house is window-less, but with a small *dwari* on the *obra* (ground floor). Thus, the multi-storeyed Gaddi house looks more a mini-castle than a dwelling house. However, the Gaddis are now increasingly opting for a more settled living, because of the statutory restriction imposed on the customary grazing rights for their flocks in several traditional grazing areas that has discouraged transhumance among them. That change has reflected on the style of their dwellings, which are now provided with *tohlu* (small openings). In most of the 'modern' Gaddi houses, now even small windows with iron gratings may also be seen.

The *obra* is used as byre for the cattle and for storing fuel and fodder. Generally, it is a single large room, apportioned into two functional areas by an improvised partition. The spacious half is allocated cattle and the smaller one for

storage. The *obra* is a dark and dingy room, with only a small *dwari*. For ventilation, *tohlu* are left on the sidewalls. Sometimes, an improvised extra accommodation, called ora, for tethering cattle may be created alongside the *obra*. On one corner of the *obra*, a *manjhi*, *paran* or *sanari* (stepladder) is provided to reach the upper floors through a *chobu* (a trapdoor). The *manjhi*, *paran* or *sanari* may be a single flight wooden staircase or a notched wooded log.

The upper floors are generally residential. The first floor is called *obri*, the second floor is the *bhor* and the third floor is the *mandeh*. At times, the third floor is kept open on two sides to give it a veranda-like appearance. In that case, it is called *sal*, and is used for storing grass, firewood, etc.

According to the Gaddi social system, a bridegroom is required to establish his own family soon after he gets married. "It is unusual for the married brothers' wives to occupy the same fireplace. Traditional joint families are unusual" among the Gaddis (Newell 1967, 34). Consequently, each upper floor of a Gaddi dwelling is a compact all purpose large room, divided into several functional areas for living, sleeping, storage, cooking, etc. In one corner of the room, a small space is paved with thick one-piece slate and an outlet is provided in the wall for draining out wastewater. It is called *chala*. Utensils are washed in the *chala* and the female inmates may take occasional bath there. A Gaddi house does not have the luxury of an independent toilet and the people go out in the fields to ease themselves. The *chullha* (a hearth), with a *harpur* (secondary stands) to keep cooked food warm, is provided in a corner of the room. There is no provision for smoke outlet in a traditional Gaddi house, but a *tohlu* may sometimes be left on the wall just above the *chullha*. Thus, usually the roof is usually smoke-filled. While, the Gaddi family, conditioned to that situation, feels just

normal, others may feel suffocation in the room. However, on the top floor, a *bonti* (slate) is loosely fixed on the roof, which may be pushed aside for smoke to escape. Near the *chullha* is *gharyali* (a raised platform) for keeping utensils and earthenware. A small *tiru* or *khudi* (niche) is provided for enshrining the household deity, mostly a Nag Devata.

Each floor has a *dragra* or *behi* (an open cantilevered veranda) in front. At times, it may be partly enclosed with wooden planks to create a storage space. The *dragra* or *behi* serves for the daytime household chores and for the family to congregate, work, sit, relax and doze. It also serves as a secure area for spreading and drying grains. A loom may also be installed in one corner of *dragra*.

Most of the construction material, collected by the community participation, is locally available, but the *deodar* wood is arranged on the customary confessional *bartandari* (right-holder') rates. Significantly, not only the use of wood is lesser here, but also it is crude and artless, possibly because art woodwork involves expertise and time, which is rare with the Gaddis under the constraints of their agro-pastoral transhumant lifestyle.

Therefore, a traditional Gaddi house is not an impressive structure; rather, it looks outlandish and rustic even in its finished condition that may reflect their naïve semi-pastoral and semi-agrarian lifestyle. Nevertheless, the architectural and structural aspects of these dwellings are compatible with the local environment. The tall structures are so raised that these may suffer lateral jolts, but should not collapse. There is hardly any rigidly fixed or firmly jointed structural component in it. No mortar is used in laying stones, and even the use of iron nails is minimal. For that

reason, centuries old traditional residential houses may still be found standing in the habitable condition in the Gadderan territory. On the other hand, the ancient *Kardar Kothi* at Brahmaur, ascribed to Raja Prithvi Singh (AD 1641-1664) of Chamba, was grievously devastated by the Kangra Earthquake of 4th April 1905 (Vogel 1909. 34-35). The raja also got that *kothi* embellished with the carved ceiling panels and main door shutters (Parsons 1910. 48; Handa 2001. 132). Some of those ceiling panels and the shutters were removed to the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba. These figuratively carved wooden relics clearly reflect the influence of Mughal art on the art tradition of Chamba. The woodcarvings of *Kardar Kothi* are the exclusive example of carved woodwork in a secular structure at Brahmaur, for no such tradition of woodcarving existed in Brahmaur, nor do we find any evidence of art woodwork done by a local artisan in the local residential house in this terrain area.

Interestingly, from the extant structural parts of that *Kothi*, it is evident that it was not built in the traditional Gaddi style by the Gaddi artisans, but on the urbane and feudal architectural style of Chamba by the imported artisans, especially the woodworkers. One of those was Chetru of Chamba (Newell 1967. 34). That may explain, why it fell victim to the earthquake, while apparently much older residential houses built in the traditional local style withstood that tremor (Singh 1961c. pl. vi). When the superb architecture and artwork of the early wooden temples in the Gadderan territory, as at Chitrari, Brahmaur and Markul, is compared with the naïve traditional domestic architecture, on striking fact emerges out. While the early wood-based architecture and artwork was highly sophisticated and classical in every sense of term, the Gaddi domestic architecture has been rustic. This may indicate that the

earlier classical art and architecture of Gaddiland was not the product of Gaddis, but of the outsiders. Under the arduous agro-pastoral mixed economy, the Gaddis could not imbibe that expertise from their predecessors of the Brahmpur kingdom,

That aspect is not only reflected in their rustic but captivating costumes and ornaments as well, but also in their dwelling houses. Evidently, the Gaddis never took their houses seriously, but they relied upon improvisation. That fact is evident not only from the way their houses are built by community participation without involving any skilled artisan, but also from the distribution of space within. All these features indicate a sort of makeshift camping arrangement at a single floor-level, notwithstanding the fact that most of the Gaddi houses are multi-storied.

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Bronzes of Northwest Himalayas

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The medieval north Indian bronzes are limited in number as compared to south Indian bronzes. They must have existed here too in large number as revealed from the literary sources like Kalhan's Rajtarangani .But the vast plains of Northern Hindustan were continuously run over by the successive waves of foreign invaders from Central Asia who were the first to destroy ,melt and smash the metal images. [1] It is only in the remote regions of Himachal Pradesh like Bharmour, Chatrarhi , .Bhimakali Hatkoti and Udaipur etc that a few brass images have survived.

The most important set of bronzes of the northwest Himalayas belong to Bharmour and Chatrarhi in Chamba. Bharmour (skt –Brahampura) ,was the nucleus of the erstwhile princely state of Chamba which is said to have been set up by a legendry king Raja Maru hailing from Rajasthan in 550 A.D. Though claimed to be of hoary antiquity its archaeological evidence remained blank till Raja Meru Verman in the 7th century commissioned the construction of the grand wooden temples housing life size brass images cast by his master artist Gugga. These celebrated brass images close to life size in dimension and exhibiting high degree of excellence and artist skill are known to the art historian the world over. Some of these major images are inscribed on the pedestals in the Sharda script of 7th century recording the name of master artist Gugga and the royal patron Raja Meruveramn. Another brass image assigned to Gugga is enshrined in an early wooden temple at Chatrarhi located halfway between Bharmour and Chamba.This image too is unique as it presents interesting iconography of the Devi standing gracefully without her vahana and holding *ayudhas* not normally attributed to her in the *shilipa* texts. The brass image of Shakti Devi was believed to be the last work of the master artist Gugga on stylistic grounds as no further product of his workshop was available in this region. But the recent important discovery of the brass image of Bodhsattva (9th century) bearing affinity in style with the Bharmour and Chatrarhi group alters the archeological scenario of Bharmour and is a pointer that Bharmour remained a prolific centre of artistic activity with its abundant forested mountain line located high above providing never failing supply of wood to its kiln of *shilpins*, long after Gugga had left the scene. The image though mutilated ,wears an elaborate Gandhara crown with three crescents ,cockades (karanphul) above the ears ,a hara of single

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variety around the neck and has benign countenance .The Gandhara crown and the prominent pectoral muscles indicates its affinity with Kashmiri sculptures

The brazen idol of Lakshana Devi of Bharmour remains the specimen par excellence and one of the finest examples of Indian metal art. Dr Herman Goetz traces the iconography of this image in the Udaigiri caves near Bhilsa and in the Gupta temples of Bhumara.[2] This image according to O. Viennot represents the last part of the fight when the demon after assuming many forms reverted to its original shape of buffalo .[3] The animal comes rushing from the left but its dash is mastered by the Devi who pins it down on the floor ,places her foot firmly on its forehead jabs it with the trident held in her left hand ,lifting the hind parts almost vertically. According to O Vieniot the originality lays in the attitude of the buffalo that the goddess after catching the tail or the leg holds the head downwards. The reversal of this attitude of buffalo is presented in Gum at Chamba (9th Cent A.D.) where buffalo springs in the air on his two forelegs and its hind part is held down by the Devi standing in pratyalidha posture. This iconography pertains to Kushano-Gupta when the animal rushing from the right stood in diagonal position on its two hind legs. The implements of trident, bell, sword held by Lakshana Devi are consistent factors in the four armed images of the Devi in the western Himalayan images. Except for a lone case of Mahisasurahmardini at Una where she is holding a shield in one of her arms. In the four armed image of north western Himalayas the lion is conspicuous by its absence. Buffalo too is shown in her natural form and has yet to assume the shape of the demon . The only exception noted so far is the wooden sculpture from Mirkula Devi explored and acquired for State Museum Shimla by O.C.Handa ,where the lion makes its appearance on the front rather than on the back and also a four armed stone sculptures from Jagat Sukh Kullu where the lion appears but is a passive viewer. Herman Goetz considers it a copy of some original work. Among the various ornaments adorning the Lakshana Devi ,a necklace composed of gold discs '*dinaramala* which alternate with tiny bells *Kashudra ghantika* is to be noted which is used extensively on the brazen idols of Bharmour including Nandi as well as Shakti Devi of Chatrarhi .The necklace disappears after 7th century A.D..In the sculptures of India too it is very rarely represented. Another necklace which makes its way between the breasts of the Devi will remain the standard ornament of the Mahishamardini images and the metal artists of Chamba will continue with it even down to the present times

The bronze Nandi facing the facing the Mani Mahesh temple and standing on all fours in the Chaurasi compound is superb piece of metal casting and is built to life size dimensions. In conformity to the ancient texts its place in the open court yard should be directly in line and height with the sanctum deity . Thus in a way it should confirms the height of the *adhistana* of the temple.

The pedestal on which it is placed bears an inscription in the Sharada character of the seventh century deciphered accurately by Lakshman Singh Thakur , indicates that the Mani Mahesh temple towards which the Nandi bull is oriented is a temple built at a later period possibly of the period of Raja Yugakar Verman (11th century A.D.) and is not equipped with the architectural features described in the inscription.[4] Moreover the Nandi stands at a un-required distance from the Manimahesh temple. The standing Nandi bulls it appears point to the distant iconography of Kidara Kushana.The standing Nandi which are massive (*mahakaya,maha- parman*) are three in number in Chamba.. Vishnu Dharmottra Purana speaks of Nandis as solid and four footed and steady as a rock(*Vrsohi Bhagwan dharma chatuspadah prakirttith.*) thus giving hint in favor of standing Nandis. The bull according to this text is the four footed dharma[5] Shaivites hail Nandis and speak of their garlands and ornaments as those of the main divinity. Here we take not of *dinaramala* and *gandhara* crown worn by Nandi like other divinities.

The temple of Nr Simha is the only temple in the Chaurasi complex of Bharmour which has a clear boundary wall demarcating its area. The ancient text prescribe that a village or a settlement must be located behind the God Nr Simha and we can conjecture that the ancient kindom of Bharmour must have been located behind the temple and on the slope of the plateau of Chaurasi.According to Dr Vogel the temple received much damage in the earthquake of 4th April 1905.The temple is of modest height but contains a majestic but awe inspiring and dynamic brazen idol of Nr Simha. The image represents Nr Simha with two hand folded authoritatively under the chin while the other two hands are raised above his head to disembowel with sharp nails the imaginary body of Hasrniyakasipu lying helplessly across his thighs. Like other brass images of Bharmour ,this image too is rendered alone (*ekaki*), His ferocious aspect is expressed in his blood shot rolling eyes (*krishanu –nayan*) , razor sharp fangs(*tikshana damstara*) dishevelled hair and the arched eyebrows (*bhrakuti*) raised in anger. The image is ascribed to Raja Yughakar Verman period but to our mind the plasticity of the rounded figure, the physiognomy of the statue rippling with strength, the long *bhadras-pitha* on which he is seated majestically and the gandhara crown links it to the brazen idol of Ganesha and can be assigned the period of 7th century like other bronze of Bharmour.

The brass figure of Ganesha enshrined in a comparatively modern shed is powerfully modeled ,the torso covered with ripples seem to be juxtaposed against the tight fitting jacket of lion skin. His sits on a long bench (*bhadra pitha*) carved with two *vipritmukhi* lions with crouching *gana* with large ears seated in the middle .The *bhadrapitha* is draped in cushion with festoons. The legs of the deity are missing probably damaged in the Kira invasion of 8th century A.D. Probably he was

seated in European fashion with both the legs pendant on the ground or with one leg folded on the pedestal and the other planted on the ground. He is represented four armed and carries in his hands a lotus, tusk and axe and bowl of sweets from which he has picked one with his trunk which is shown in movement to bring it near to his mouth

The four armed brass image of Shakti Devi of Chatrarhi (7th century) is one of those rare images which confirms to the cannons of ideal beauty as contained in the ancient texts. In the Gupta period a common dominator of the ideal beauty was framed as if by some unwritten code by the artists, the poets and the artisans drawing heavily on the metaphors drawn from the animal and the vegetal world. In this regard Art historian Philip Rawson highlights and cites the example of Shakti Devi of Chatrarhi. According to him the face of the woman should not be rounded but broad like a full moon as exhibited in present Devi image. According to the ancient texts the eyes should be elongated like safari fish, the soft lips red and ripe and full like sesame flowers, the nose, true Aryan and arched like a parrots beak, the eyebrows taut like a full drawn bow , the bosoms like rounded cups ,the arms like the cow's tail and the legs like the elephant's trunk. Thus the sculpture of Gugga is correct as well as beautiful and is cast according to the well understood law of proportion, We find that while one leg of the Shakti Devi is on the *brahamsthan* the other is extended sideway in tryka imparting a certain grace and elegance to the body . This gentle stance adopted by Shakti Devi necessitates the rising of two arm in *katak hasta* posture, The other two arms are raised up to the shoulder level and thus from two imaginary triangles with their apex at the elbows. These geometrical figures in space are the manifestations of Shakti and represent Shakti maya The image otherwise is modeled after the Lakshana Devi temple in its physiognomy lean and elongated and adorned with pearled jewellery. The long strand of pearls that makes its way coyly between the cup shaped breasts of the *devi* shows by its swing toward right the exact deviation from the *brhamsutra* or the master plumb line.

Though the early wooden temple of Chatrarhi is dedicated to the Shakti Devi yet its vast compound is strewn with Shaivite emblems and it appears that at one point of time in history it was an active centre of Shaivite activity. Not only outside in the compound but inside in the sanctum too an exquisitely cast phallic emblem of Shiva with human face set on it (*ek mukha linga*)is kept by the side of Shakti Devi. The bust of Shiva is represented as if emerging from the pedestal with the back slab treated as Linga. Its style is characteristically Kashmiri and bears close resemblance with Ekmukhlinga[6] and is

similarly adorned. The present brass image also bears close resemblance with the Surya image of Martand holding two lotuses raised up to the shoulder level. A similar two armed brass image belonging to Balbhadar Verman period (16th century) obviously a copy of the Chatrarhi image existed at Hasrsar near Bharmour but unfortunately it fell prey to vandalism and exists no more and is substituted by a later day copy. The original piece contained an inscription of the reign of Raja Bal Bhadar Verman stating that the image was raised by Gangu and Krishnu the sons of Nathu in the year of the bliss 58th, 14th of Jyestha. In The Shakti Devi temple are also kept two yogini images of modest height but with excessive smiles on their faces .These images possibly represent Tara as stated by M.Poestal as they are holding lotuses in their hands.

A bronze of exceptional artist merit and pertaining to late Gupta period (6th century A.D.) was acquired from the Chatrarhi temple Chamba and is on display in the local Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba. The bronze presents a different physiognomy from the Bharmour and Chatrarhi group and has Gupta influence of late classical period. The theme is not familiar to the bronzes of northern India for it shows a devotee holding in his both hands, a large lamp (*dipa*) in front of him which one usually finds elsewhere especially in South India. For the ritual of worship he is unclad save for the dhoti but the dagger tucked in his waistband indicate his warrior class. He wears a *hara* of single variety as behooves the Gupta period sculpture, the ears are large and adorn the *ratna kundalas* .The head is seen covered with tiny spiral locks of hairs with *ushnisha* (topknot) at the top like we see in Buddha images. The actual proportions of the body are finer and more smoothly cast, the face is serene and benevolent with that spiritual expression which became the hallmark of the all Buddha image.

A brazen idol of Durga (16th century) preserved in the Hidimba Devi temple at Mehla Chamba is worth mentioning here. According to V.C.Ohri ' An inscribed brass image of goddess Durga seated on lion a work of mid 17th century ,under worship in the temple of the goddess Jalpa in the village Mehla shows a clear deviation from the iconographic norms in which the images of goddess were made earlier in Chamba and the neighboring areas " The iconography of this image type of Durga is alien to Chamba and marks an end to the phase of Durga Mahishasuramardini images of Chamba .The image represents Durga seated on the lion in *santa* aspect and holding conventional emblems in her four hands. The mount lion is rendered stationary on his four legs and faces the viewer head on with a mouth half open in roar and the eyes ferocious and glaring under

the small pointed ears. A collar tied around his neck is inscribed recording the name of the artist Badri Dass as well. Though the iconography of this image type is ancient and belongs to Kushana and Gupta period, in Chamba it seems to have been introduced by Brahmins hailing from Bengal in the 17th century.

Though Chamba is venerated as Shiv Bhumi ,there is only one temple of Shiva in Chamba where he is represented *purushakar* i.e. in human form with his consort Uma. The temple is located in the Lakshmi Narayan temple complex and is assigned by tradition to Yughakar Verman (11th century) the son and successor of Sahilla Verman. This group almost three quarter life size is the biggest and finest work of Pratihara metal art known to us. The image is presented to us a as variation of *alingana murti* as prescribed in the Rupmandan. Iconographically the image may be termed as 'Uma Sahita.'as Shiva is seen with Parvati . Herman Goetz defines the image as derivation of Kidara Kushana iconography depicted on the Kushana coins where Shiva holding a trident is seen standing in front of bull Nandi. Shiva is presented here with four heads and with four arms which holds the emblems of *bijapuraka, japamala*, rosary and a trident. The hand holding the rosary is held affectionately on the shoulder of Paravati expressing feelings of martial love. Parvati has two arms ----her left hand is raised with palm inwards which is termed as hand beckoning the devotees to reach them. While the other is holding the water vessel. The image stylistically weans Chamba away from Kashmiri images ushering in Pratihara civilization and arts

The ancient Chamba continued to remain within the orbit of Kashmir till Kashmir itself came under the sway of Sultanates in the 13th century. Nowhere else in Chamba the influence of Kashmir is so strongly felt as in the large number of Vaikunta images so that it is difficult to discern Vishnu without the additional heads appended to it. These Vaikntha images, a result of the spillover from Kashmir stop short at Holi ,it last outpost and are rarely encounter in Kangra and and reappear again as Vishnu Vishvarupa in Kullu. The temple of Hari Rai located at one end of the Chaughan presents in its sanctum a standing image of Vishnu as Vaikuntha chaturmurti cast in *ashtdhatu* and accompanied by his personified cognizance Gada Devi and Chakrapurusha to his right and left while Prithvi is seen emerging from the earth to support him on his upturned palms. The head at the back has a terrific appearance in accordance with the prescription of Vishnu Dharmottra Puran..The tiny figure of Prthivi emerging from the earth conveys in essence the idea put

forth in the Vishnu Dharmottra Puran. Thus the earth along with the four *ayudhas shank, gada, padam* and the lotus indicate the *panchbhutas* which are sustained by Lord Vishnu.

The temple of Bansi Gopal in Chamba contains an excellent brass statuette of Radha (about 3 feet in height) with an important inscription in takari engraved on the fringed of her sari .The inscription was noted for the first time by the author and Hari Chauhan while surveying the temple. The inscription established the date of the brass statue as 17th century and also mentions the name of the master artist Badri Dass who was responsible for the casting the image of Hidimba Devi of MehlaThe image of the Krishna standing by the side of the side of brass statue of Radha is a modern day work in black marble and import of Rajasthan .The original image of Krishna has been replaced and finds place in the back niche of this temple. The image of Radha has prominent cheek bones , sharp chin and wide open eyes, presenting the same physiognomy as the Hidimba Devi of Mehla.

It will be appropriate to discuss here some important bronzes found in other parts of Western Himalayas. The earliest published bronze from the western Himalayan region remains the seated Buddha discovered by Vogel in Fatehpur (Kangra) and now preserved in the Lahore Museum. It was dated by Vogel on the basis of paleography of the inscription to the 6th century A.D. It is a half Gandharan , half Buddha image certainly a portable commodity but the brass inlaid eyes confirms its western Himalyan origin and also the draped pedestal. Buddha here is represented seated in *dhyana* asana his hands held in the *dharamchakra mudra*,a fold of robe passes over the left shoulder *(ek nishka)* and then is taken over the arm. According to Douglas Barret "when publishing the Fathepur bronze, Vogel also mentioned but did not illustrate an inscribed bronze Vishnu which was recovered with the Buddhist piece . It seems now to be held neither by the Pakistani nor the Indian authorities..... were .The bronze complete in good condition and a typical Avantipur type Vishnu of 9th century A.D." [7] The old administrative record of Kangra district is preserved in the archives wing of the Language and Culture Department Shimla. From the study of the record it appears that the main deity of the Katoch rajas of Kangra was the bornze idol of Ambika Devi possibly a Jaina goddess. The record speaks of it as having being stolen and the old bazaar of Kangra observed strike. The wealthy Jain merchants were influential people and had extended their powers so much with the royalty of Kangra that they could establish a a Jain image of Adinath right in the middle of the Kangra fort .A very famous bronze showing the goddess Mahabhairavi with five heads and ten arms seated majestically

on a male figure (Shiva) who is with four arms and attended up by five subsidiary figures is a work of remarkable technical skill .The bronze represents Durga beaming with ecstatic smile mounted on Lord Shiva who with folded hands, turns his head to look up at the goddess admiringly. The rectangular pedestal with simple molding, the design of the bell,(seen in Chamba temples) the slim and the lean figure of Mahabhairvi similar to Lakshana and Shakti Devi of Chamba indicate it to be of Chamba or Kangra region. The brass statue is now preserved in the National Museum new Delhi. A single faced four armed figure of Vishnu represented as Vasu Deva accompanied by 'the personified cognizance of Gada Devi and Chakrapurusha and a tiny figure of Prithvi emerging from the earth though usually attributed to Kashmir ,hails from Kangra and is now preserved in the Chandigarh Museum Chandigarh.

An interesting art relic surviving from Kullu and now preserved in the British Museum is the copper *lota* dating back to Asokan period(185-75 B.C).The *lota* is the typical Indian water vessel and was discovered by Major Hay in 1857 in a monastery in Kullu. The outer surface of this lota is chased with intricate details showing prince Siddhartha riding a chariot drawn by four galloping horses .He is escorted by two horse riders at the back brandishing long javelins. The interesting factor is the use of the 'stir up' for the horses in this period. The procession is fronted by two lithe and slim female musicians apparently dancing and rejoicing and playing on musical instruments. According to Handa the attenuated figures with their tubular limbs are striking similar in treatment to relics of Bhaja.[8]

A brass image of Surya standing in *sampad,sambhang* and *sathnak* posture and stylistically hailing from Kullu is preserved in the Cleveland Museum of Art and is a superb piece of craftsmanship though of modest height. The image is clad in *udidchaya vesha* tied at the waist with Zoroastrian woolen belt .Vishnu Dharmottra Puran speaks of this belt to be so tied around the waist of the sun god that one end of the knot is lengthier and hangs down as observed in many sun images. The deity wears long leather shoes. Thus his entire body is covered except for the radiant face to save the devotee from his consuming power The sun god adorns on his head the high flat round cap of Hunazas as also seen in the Sun image from Bajaura(Kullu) now preserved in the State Museum Shimla.

The tradition of producing bust length plaques which in common parlance are termed as ' *mohras*' are peculiar to some places in Himachal Pradesh especially Kullu .These *mohras* adorn the houses for they are easily prepared as only the face is shown in

full while the rest of the body is treated summarily. But the tradition of bust length plaques goes to the hoary past. A brass plaque hailing from Kullu and dating back to 10th represents Shiva holding stylistically the rosary in his two hands in front of him and telling its beads . The work is a fine example of the style which developed through synthesis. The crescents, the lotus ornament, the form of the snake and the treatment of many details suggest a north western source.[9] The benign smile on the face and the eyes half closed in contemplation brings the sublime expression on the face which if full of compassion.

The region of Nirmand in Kullu is noteworthy for presenting to us one of the finest plaques cast in brass ,dating back to 11th century and inscribed as Sujuni Devi .The bust was discovered by Shuttleworth in 1919 but its salient features were highlighted by M. Postel , deciphering accurately the inscription and pointing out its link to the brass image of Gauri of Gauri Shankar temple in Chamba with whom it tallied to the minutest details. Since both the image was cast by the same artist it is possible that the bust was cast in Chamba.[10]

An *asthdhatu prabhavali* cast in lost wax process and embellished with figural sculptures surrounds metal icon of goddess Kamakhya Dev dating back to 9th century is of exceptional merit. The temple of Kamakshi or Kasmakhya Devi is located at village Kao in the Karsog tehsil of District Mandi..The *prbhavali* is a product of exceptional workmanship especially the upper arch which seems to be the original piece resting on two upright columunettes which are of later period..The round upper arch has two borders ,the outer border shows *vidyadharas* flying in *vrichak karan*, scorpion like posture holding diagonally the *danda vina* without gourds and alternated by *maldhara* holding open garlands for the *abhishekha* of the goddess. Though cast in Pratihara style ,the *toran* retains the lingering traits of post gupta and can be assigned the period of 9th -10th century. It is this rounded arch, bifurcated underneath into two registers that is of interest to the art historians. This inner portion is again divided into two registers which are filled in with the figures which are happily in consistent to the cult of the tantric goddess to which the temple is dedicated Here the *matrika* figures (six of them) and the Lord Shiva as Nataraja and the Yogeshwara are of special interest. Subhasini Aryan highlights the importance of this *prabhavali*. According to her "It must be stressed that some of the most marked features of the Pratihara style sculptures from Rajasthan , Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh such as strained motions, angular limbs, overwrought gestures and postures, concave curves of the body, exaggerated detachment , rigid stiff, lifeless legs, are

conspicuous by their absence in the sculptures of region 'here citing the example of this prabhavali.[11]

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Migration of Kushana tribe and establishment of their political and cultural ascendancy over North-Western India.

Arjun Singh*

INTRODUCATION

The Kushana were a branch of the *Yueh-Chi* tribe'[1] a nomadic people who lived in *Kan Suh* province of the Chinese Turkistan in the Northern- western China around 165 B.C.[2] According to a Chinese author they were pushed out from this region by a tribe of Turki nomads known as *Hiung-nu*[3] and migrated westwards[4] in search of pasture grounds .In the course of their westward migration they came into conflict with *Wu-Sun*. *Wu-Sun* was an another nomadic group, smaller than *Yueh-Chi* tribe, occupied the basin of the *Ili* river and its southern tributaries the *Tekes* and *Konges* [5] in which the chief *Wu-Sun* had been slain by *Yueh-chi*. After their encounter with *Wu-Sun*, *Yueh-chi* group had divided into two branches: one branch moved southwards and settled on the Tibetan border and came to be known as the *Siao-Yuech-Chi*, means the little *Yueh-Chi*,[6] while the main body, *Ta-Yueh-Chi*[7] continued their westward march and was designated the great *Yueh-Chi*.[8]

The next foes encountered by the *Yueh-Chi* were *Sakas* or *Se*, who dwelt to the west of the *Wu-Sun*, and to the north of the *Jaxartes* (*Sur Darya*).[9] The *Sakas* were forced to migrate from Jaxartes by the *Yueh-Chi* tribe[10] and for 15 to 20 years the *Yuch-Chi* remained undisturbed in their usurped territory. But around 140 B.C. the *Yueh-Chi* were pushed out by the son of the slain king of the *Wu-Sun* with the help of *Hiung-nu*.[11] Finally they came to the Oxus valley, subjugated the *Bacterians* and settled down.[12] By the first century B.C. they ceased to be nomadic and became a settled territorial nation of the *Bactrian* lands[13]. The *Yueh-Chi* in the process of their settlement got divided into five principalities- *Hieu-mi-Chousang-mo, Kouci, Chouang, Hirthun and Kaofu*.[14] Of these *Chousang* subjugated the other four[15]gained predominance and finally limited them. Kujula Kadphises performed this task and the entire people of this branch came to be known as the Kushana.[16] His accession may be dated approximately in the year of

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A.D.15.[17] Kujula Kadphises established his authority over the Kabul valley and the neighboring regions including Gandhara and southern Afganistan.[18] He made himself the master of *Ki-pin* (Kashmir).[19] His empire was extended from the frontier of Persia to the Indus.[20]

In A.D.45 his son Vima Kadhphises, who in designated as Kadphises –II, succeeded him[21]. After consolidated his position; Vima extended his dominion to the side of the Hindu-Kusha.[22] From his capital Taxila,[23] he spread his power to the parts of northern India which he governed through the viceroys. He conquered the Punjab and a considerable part of the Gangetic plain probably as far as Benaras.[24] *Kadphises-II* seems to have been a great warrior. The Chinese Annuls indicates that he carried a campaign against the Chinese general *Pan-Cho* but was defeated and was made to pay tribute to the Chinese emperor *Ho-li* (80-105A.D).[25] The victorious reign of Kadphises –II may be supposed to have covered a space of about 33 years from A.D.55 to 78 A.D.[26]

Kadphises-II was succeeded by *Kaniska*[27] but his relation with his predecessor *Vima Kadphises* is not clear.[28] The nameless king known as *Soter Megas* is described by some historian to have succeeded *Vima*.[29] But "the numismatic evidence and the stratification of the remains of the *Taxila*" as emphasized by Dr. Ramashankar Tripathi indicate that Kaniska was very close to Vima Kadphises and indeed succeed him.[30]

There is also confusion about the year of his accession to the throne. The dates suggested are: 58 B.C. by Fleet; 125A.D. by Sir John Marshall; 248A.D. by R.C. Majumdar; and 278A.D. by R.G. Bhandarkar.[31] Professor Rapson and Dr. Raychaudhari hold that the reign of Kanishka commenced in 78.A.D.This theory is mostly accepted.[32] Thus Kanishka may be assumed to have succeeded Kadphises-II in about 78.A.D.

RESULTED DISCUSSION.

Kanishka was the most important Kushana king who said to have started *Saka* era. The saka era (78A.D) was according to tradition founded by a Saka king who occupied Ujjain 137 years after Vikramyaditya.[33] This era may in fact have been founded by Kaniska and was certainly used in the 2nd century A.D. by the "western satrapas,"[34] who ruled *Malwa, Kathiawar and Gujarat.* Kaniska possessed a vast empire from Kashmir in the north to the Vindhya in the south and from Bihar in the east to the Indus valley in the west.[35] Outside India his empire spread over trans-Pamir region, the Oxus valley region and the vast stretch of land lying between the Hindukush and the Indus comprising *Kabul, Kandhar, Seistan, Afganistan* and *Baluchistan.* Epigraphic records of the region of

Kanishka himself prove his control over the U.P., Punjab, N.W.F.P. (North West Frontier Province) and the Bahawalpur region of north of Sindu.[36] Kaniska ruled his vast empire with the help of viceroy or Satraps.[37] Epigraphic and numismatic records reveal the names of a number of Satraps under Kaniska who probably enjoyed a great deal of local autonomy[38] .We find the names of *Mahakshatrapa Kharapallna* and *Kshatrapa Vanaspara* who ruled over *Mathura* and *Varanasi* respectively.

Kanishka established his capital near Kabul i.e. Purushpura.[39] A study of Kaniska's coins makes it quite clear that he had an eclectic frame of mind and worshipped a variety of Indian, Iranian and Greek deities. He was converted to Buddhism by Ashavaghosa and became great patron of Buddhism. Although an ardent Buddhist, he was tolerant towards all other religions. This is well attested by *Hieun-Tsang* and *Albeurni* who referred to the relic Tower at Peshawar which was constructed by the famous Greek architect *Agesitas* under the patronage of Kaniska.[40]

Kaniska under the impression of his preceptor, *Parsva* is said to have summoned the 4th Buddhist council of the monks at *Kundalvana* in Kashmir[41].The main object of the council was to codify the different views on Buddha's teaching and iron out the difference held by the followers of Buddha. It is said that about 500 delegates attended the council and it was presided over by *Vasumitra*.[42] A select committee under *Parsva* prepared a text of the scriptures with commentaries on the basis of the new school called *Mahayanism* and Sanskrit as the language of the text.[43] The council made a splendid contributed to the interpretation of Buddhism; it composed 100,000 stanzas of *Upadesa-Sastra* explanatory of the canonical *Sutras*, 100,000 stanzas of *Vinay-Vibhastra* explanatory of the *Vinaya* and 100,000 stanza of *Abhidharma-Vihbasha –Sastra* explanatory of *Abhidharma*.[44]

About first century B.C. Buddhism had divided in to two sects i.e. *Hinyana* "the little vehicle" and *Mahayana* -"the great vehicle" and Kaniska was a great follower of Mahayana Buddhism. During the Kaniska it gained ascendancy. *Nagarjuna*, *Aryadeva*, *Asanga* and *Vasubandhu* are said to have contributed to its development and popularity. During the 1st and 2nd century A.D. Mahayana system spread all over the north. In this period the sculptures and painters became more active. This resulted in the awareness of Buddhism.

The reign of Kanishka appears to have lasted for almost 40 years and may be assumed to have terminated about A.D.123.[45] Inscriptions prove that Vasishka was

reigning at Mathura in the 24 A.D. to 28 A.D and Huvishka between the year 33A.D. to 60 A.D. which was reigning at the same place in the year 41 A.D.[46] The best way to reconcile the apparent contradiction is to assume that Vasishka and Huvishka were sons of Kanishka who both acted in succession as viceroys.[47] The town Hushkpura founded by Huvishka in Kashmir just inside the Baramulla pass and known as the 'Western gate.'[48] Huvishka was succeeded by Vasudeva I, whose thoroughly Indian name a synonym for Vishnu is a proof of the foreigner invader had succumbed to the influence of their environment.[49] Testimony to the same fact is born by his coins in which on the reverse, the figure of the Indian god *Siva* is depicted attended by his bull Nandi and accompanied by noose, trident and other insignia of Hindu iconography.[50] The inscriptions of Vasudeva I mostly found at Mathura, certainly range in date from the year 74 A.D. to 98 A. D of the Saka era. Thus, the dynasty that began with the ruler Kujula Kadphises in the first century B.C. become very powerful and strong in the reign of the great king Kaniska who brought stability in economy, polity and advancement in trade; it was the period of tremendous achievement in art, architecture and literature culture. Dr. H.C. Raychaudhary observed, "The dynasty of Kaniska opened the way for Indian civilization in Central and Eastern Asia".[51]

Kushana minted gold and copper coins. The gold *dinaras* or *suvaranas* were based on the Roman *denarius* and were of 124 grains.[52] Double and quarter *dinars* were also issued. The copper coins were large, of from 26 to 28 *masas*, or 240 to 260 grains[53] which may circulate in ordinary transaction. Kushana had learnt to use a form of Greek Alphabet and the Kujula's son Wima Kadphise was the first Indian ruler to strike gold coins in imitation of the Roman aurcas.[54] The appearances of the Buddha along with other deities on Kaniska's coins clearly indicate that Buddhism had this time moved for away from its original moorings. While the early Buddhist regarded the Buddha as a human being a great guide in the journey of life, now was elevated to the position of a god. On the coins of Huviska instead of Siva on one of its sides depict Sun with hallow of rays. Coins of Vasudeva the last Kushana show the king in his usual dress (helmet), heavy padded boots, long trouser and defensive dress, on the obverse and offering being made on the altar of the goddess on reverse. D.C. Sarkar mentioned that the Kushana king Vasudeva is probably to be identified with a king of that name mentioned in *Rajtarngini's Kavya-mimamsa* as a patron of poets and as a *Subhapati* (president of society of learned man).[55] Generally all the Kushana coins carry Greek legends. The use of gods and goddess's one side and the king himself on the other side of the coins depict their attempt to project themselves as parallel

to divine entities. This also projects their idea of '*Divine right of Kingship*'. This is evident from their tendency of adopting the title *Devaputra* (Son of Gods)[56]. It appears in the legends on several coins struck officially by Kujula Kadphises.[57] The term *devaputra* was used as a title of some other Kushana emperor in inscriptions referring to them. It is interesting to note that an inscription, found at Kamra (Punjab, Pakistan) had mentioned the term *devaputra* i.e., "*Son of Gods*" and *devamanus* i.e. "God (as) man" or God living in the form of man.[58] This indicates that a Kushana emperor was not only considered a "*Son of God*," but at least occasionally identified with god himself.[59] The representation of the bust of Vima Kadphises on several coins as rising from clouds or of his headset within and the nimbus behind the head of the king on Kushana coins are attempted to indicate the supernatural character of the Kushana Kingship.[60] The Kushana royal statues found at a temple at Mat near Mathura and a small sanctuary in the swat region (also in the sanctuary at Surkh-Kotal) indicate those Kushana monarchs were actually worshipped as divinities.[61]

The contribution of the Kushanas in the history of Indian art is one of utmost importance. Four distinct centers of culture –Sarnath, Mathura, Amaravati and Gandhara developed under the Kushanas. Under their kind patronage two of the most important schools of Indian art-the Gandhara School and the Mathura school flourished and reached new height of glory.

The prominent school of art Gandhara and Mathura both of which flourished under the Kushana kings had produced the first images of the Buddha[62]. The Mathura sculptors drew inspiration for their Buddha images from the curly Yakas figures of the earlier centuries on the one hand and from meditating Jain Tirthankara on the other hand.[63] Rather outside the main range of Mathura art are the Kushana royal statues, most of which were found at the nearby village of Mat where the kings no doubt had a winter residence. Most of the figures have been damaged in time and that of the great Kanishka the most striking of the statues lacks its head. Wearing the dress of central Asia, a long coat and quilted boots, and grasping in one hand a sword and in the other its shield, the king stands with legs apart in an attitude of authority.[64] The early Buddha and Bodhisattvas of the Mathura school are happy fleshy figures full of spirituality but later they developed in grace and religious feeling. Though the Mathura school owed much to earlier Indian tradition, it also borrowed from the north- west and adopted more than one *Greco-Roman*

motif.[65] Perhaps the most striking remains of the Mathura school are the *Yaksis* from the railing of a stupa which was probably Jain.

The school of Gandhara was evidently influenced by the art of the Roman Empire and some of its craftsmen may have been westerners. Though often called Greco-Buddhist as the Geek kingdom of Bactria and N.W. India had long vanished when this school emerged.[66]

The Gandhara art developed the iconography of the Buddha; the Boddhisattava and Buddhist legends had its origin in the Gandhara region comprising the Peshawar district and adjoing territories. The most important centers were Jalalabad, Hudda and Bamyan (where a huge statue of Buddha was destroyed by Taliban govt.) in Afghanistan; and Swat valley and Peshawar in Pakistan. It is assumed that Gandhara School of art originated in the first century B.C. and touched the high climax during the Kushana period. The Mathura school of art under Kushana marked a direct development of the old Indian art of Besangar and Bharhut but with new iconography in which the figures of the Buddha, the Boddhisattava and Jain Tirthankars became the most important element in which the sculptures were influenced by the contemporary Gandhara School.

The Kushana kings were great patron of architecture also .The Kushana rulers built cites, temples, chaityas, stupas and monasteries. Kalhan has mentioned two other rulers Huvishka and Juska along with Kaniska. Both the king also built two cities which like Kaniska they named after them. Huvishka built Huviskapur (modern Ushkur). Hieun-Tsang named it *Hu-se-kia-Lo.*[67] At Hushkapur a stupa have been exposed attributed to Lalitaditya (735-760 A.D) but scientific clearance under taken in recent year brought to light an earlier plinth of this stupa that ascribe to Kushana times.(ASI.Report.1977-78 p-79). Towards the north side of the enclosure wall of the stupa, a considerable number of terracotta heads represented by Buddha, Bodhisattva, monks, both female and male, lay devotee and old have been found. These charming sculptures represent excellent example of modeling and such are the earliest example of Kashmir sculpture art. Jusuka built the city Jusukapur, (modern Zakur) about 3 km away from the famous site of Hazaratbal.[68]

Trade and commerce flourished to a great extent under Kushanas. The Gandhara region at the core of the Kushana Empire was home to multiethnic society, tolerant of religious difference describe for its strategic location with direct access to the overland silk routes and links to the parts on the Arabian Sea. The conquest of northwestern India by the Kushana promoted closer contact with western and central Asia. Central Asia therefore

acted as a link between India and China [69]. The *Periplus of Erythrean Sea* written by an anonymous Greek (navigator first century A.D) gives details of Indian exports to the Roman Empire. The main exports were; pepper, pearls, ivory, silk, malabathrum, diamonds, saffron, precious stones and tortoise sell[70]. India imported from the Roman empire such commodities as topaz, thin cloth, linen, antimony glass ware, copper, tin, lead, wine, orpiment, wheat and red glazed ware.[71] Under the rule of Kushana, the northwest India and adjoining region participated both in Sea going trade in commerce along the Silk Road to China. Trade, especially with Rome proved highly profitable and India received the price in the bullion.

The Geo-political situation of the Kushana empire made the north –western region of the country, the meeting place of the three civilization i.e. India, Chinese and western. Dr. D.C. Sarcar observes; "For the first time after the fall of the Mauryas there was a vast empire which not only embraced nearly the whole of north-India but also considerable territories outside it as far as Central Asia. India was brought into close contact with the outside world."[72]

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